

The University of Chicago

BANDITRY, CHIVALRY, AND TERROR
IN GERMAN FICTION
1790-1830

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

1935

By
AGNES GENEVIEVE MURPHY

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INTRODUCTION

German sub-literary fiction of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries existed in three outstanding types, the robber novel, the chivalric romance, and the tale of terror. A fourth type, the family novel in the style of Richardson and Fielding, was also current at the time, but it had reached its zenith earlier in the eighteenth century, and is not important for this study. The German family novel, of the type written by Hermes, was extravagantly sentimental. A reaction to this monotonously sweet class of fiction was inevitable. Novels featuring robbers, knights, and ghosts assumed the place of the sentimental tale in public favor. The three distinct genres, robber novels, chivalric romances, and tales of terror, are the subject of this study. They had little in common, but literary historians have grouped them together because they were contemporary and a few authors wrote novels of all three types. No attempt has been made in this study to establish any further relationship, since their only unity consisted in the fact that they comprised the bulk of popular fiction during this period.

Koberstein's and Goedeke's histories of German literature alone contain detailed information concerning these types of narrative. The first individual study made of these three types of novels - Johann Appell, Die Ritter-, Räuber-, und Schauerromantik (1859) - contains little except brief synopses of the more famous novels of Cramer, Spiess, Vulpius, Zschokke, and biographies of these authors. The only other work on the subject is Carl Müller-Fraureuth's Die Ritter- und Räuberromane (1894). In a short preface, Müller-Fraureuth criticizes Appell's book as inadequate, but the same criticism can be justly made of his own work. Not only is Müller-Fraureuth's study inadequate; it is also unscholarly. He takes over bodily passages of several pages in length, without acknowledgement, from literary histories and even from Appell, and borrows synopses from reviews in the Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek.¹

¹C. Müller-Fraureuth, Die Ritter- und Räuberromane (Halle a. S.: M. Niemeyer, 1894), p. 78. Compare this discussion of Rinaldo Rinaldini with the material in Appell's Die Ritter-, Räuber- und Schauerromantik (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1859), pp. 43,

The present study was made possible by the acquisition of the Lincke Loan Library by the University of Chicago. This collection of approximately eighteen-thousand volumes contains sub-literary fiction of the period from 1785 to 1840. A bibliography of the volumes in the collection pertinent to the subject of this dissertation is appended.

Robber novels, chivalric romances, and tales of terror enjoyed a tremendous popularity in Germany during the period from 1790 to 1830. At the same time, the same types of novels were being written in England and France. Evidently, the authors of these three countries used the same sources or greatly influenced one another. It is the problem of the thesis to show the development of German robber novels, chivalric romances, and tales of terror.

In German "Storm and Stress" lay the inspiration for the writing of novels with the heroic robber as hero. The young adherents of the storm and stress movement demanded freedom for the individual. The hero, Karl Moor, appealed to popular imagination. He was the noble youth who had become a robber because of the harsh treatment accorded him by his family. He exalted his profession by discriminating carefully between rich and poor. The rights of the individual were sacred to him. Schiller's contemporaries, particularly Zschokke and Vulpius, adopted this motif of the "noble bandit." Narratives with bandit-heroes originated in Germany and rapidly became popular in France and England, first through translations, and then through works of native authors.

Contemporary with the robber novels were the romances of chivalry. They should not be confused with the earlier romances associated with King Arthur or Amadis of Gaul. These chivalric romances were novels with medieval settings and had valiant knights as heroes. The awakening interest in the Middle Ages, accentuated by the historical writings of Justus Möser, the essays and folk-song collections of Herder, and chiefly Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen (1773), started the vogue of these chivalric romances. Veit Weber and Benedicte Naubert were the outstanding writers of the historical romance of chivalry. There were several varieties of the chivalric romance: the historical narrative based on actual facts but with imaginary characters as heroes;

46 f., 73; and J. Minor's Schiller, sein Leben und seine Werke (Berlin: Weidmann, 1890), I, 418.

See discussion of Die Geheimnisse der alten Ägyptier in Müller-Fraureuth, p. 67. Cf., Neue Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek (Kiel, 1793-1800; Berlin, 1800-1806), V, 592.

the narrative with real historical persons; and finally, the chivalric romance containing motifs borrowed from the tale of terror, in which passion, rather than chivalry, predominated. Romances of chivalry were practically non-existent in France and England. In those countries, the Gothic romance with its medieval background was the only type of narrative corresponding at all to the German chivalric romance.

The tale of terror began with Walpole's Castle of Otranto (1764).¹ Walpole's novel was a romance with its setting in the Middle Ages, and contained much of the supernatural and horrible. Twenty-five years later, Anne Radcliffe began writing novels of mystery and terror. They differed from the true Gothic romance, in that the settings were not always medieval, and supernatural occurrences were eventually explained in a rational fashion. In Germany, the novel of the horrific school had much the same development. First came the romances of chivalry as a result of interest in Gothic times. Secret societies, particularly the Freemasons and Rosicrucians, and conjurors, such as Cagliostro, exercised a remarkable influence upon the public mind.² Anything supernatural or mysterious aroused curiosity; cabbalism, or black magic, was often the object of investigation. From this chaos of superstitious emotion arose the tale of terror. Schiller's Der Geisterseher (1789) was the inspiration for many novels of the supernatural type. The French tale of terror combined German and English influences. We shall see that the genre was strikingly similar in Germany, England, and France. It lasted well into the nineteenth century, and the romanticists of all three countries show the influence of the wave of tales of terror.

¹The term "tale of terror" has been borrowed from Miss Edith Birkhead's work, The Tale of Terror (London, 1921).

²Ferd. Schneider, Die Freimaurerei und ihr Einfluss auf die geistige Kultur in Deutschland am Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts (Prag: Taussig, 1909), p. 190.

CHAPTER I

THE ROBBER NOVEL

Eighteenth century storm and stress demanded justice for the oppressed, freedom from any established order of society, and the right of man to mold his own fate. The youthful Schiller fervently believed in these ideals, and the result of his enthusiasm was Die Räuber (1781). The hero of the drama is the robber Karl Moor. His treacherous brother, Franz, has succeeded in poisoning their father's mind, with the result that Karl has been disinherited without a chance to vindicate himself. He determines to take up arms against society and becomes chief of a band of robbers. Karl makes it his business to aid the poor and helpless, and to punish without mercy the rich and powerful. When the robbers storm the castle of Franz, where Amalie, Karl's fiancée, and the old father are prisoners, Franz strangles himself and the father dies when he hears that his son is a robber. Amalie begs Karl to kill her. He does this and then goes to surrender himself to justice.

It was not strange that Schiller made the hero of the drama a robber-chief. Outlaws had long been familiar in Europe, particularly after the Thirty Years War. In 1771, the famous robber Klostermayer, better known as the Bavarian Hiesel, was executed. Many of his deeds were idealized by the common folk, who claimed that he robbed monks in order to give to the poor, and killed the powerful in order to help the peasants. His most faithful companion was Andreas Meyer, the model for Schiller's Schweizer in Die Räuber. Schiller was acquainted with the histories of the famous French robbers, Cartouche and Mandrin, and of the English Howard. He had also read about the compassionate robber, Roque Guinart, in Don Quixote. This character speaks thus of his profession: "Injuries which I could not brook and thirst for revenge first led me into it contrary to my nature; for the savage asperity of my present behaviour is a disgrace to my heart, which is gentle and humane."¹

¹Cervantes, Don Quixote de la Mancha, trans. R. Smith (3d ed.; New York, 1932), II, 509 f.

The enthusiasm with which Die Räuber was greeted was significant of the mood of the period. People were decidedly in sympathy with the ideals expressed in the drama, and the revolutionary speeches ensured its popularity in France. Twelve years after the appearance of Schiller's drama, a flood of robber-novels appeared in the loan libraries. The heroes were all Karl Moors; that is, they were of noble birth, had been maltreated by society, and were fired with a desire for revenge. Mere wealth had no appeal for them. They were determined to fight for the good of humanity, and the only way they could do this, so they thought, was to destroy all persons possessing money and power.¹

The first robber novel to appear in Germany was Heinrich Zschokke's Abällino, der grosse Bandit (1793). It was so popular that its author decided to introduce it to the stage, where it also proved most successful. Instead of following Schiller's example of using local background, Zschokke chose the more colorful setting of Italy. This decision proved to be a precedent for many other authors; all of the robber novels written subsequent to Abällino have Mediterranean backgrounds. The opening scene of Abällino shows us a solitary stranger sitting on the border of the great canal in Venice. He seems to possess nothing but a sword, and is bemoaning his miserable existence. After saving a man from a bandit's dagger, he receives no thanks, but only hard words. This embitters him still more. Yet he says: "I will submit to my destiny! . . . and go thru' every degree of human wretchedness; and whate'er may be my fate, I will still be myself, and whate'er may be my fate, I will still act greatly!"² He then requests a group of banditti to admit him to their fellowship. When they get a full view of his face, even they recoil with horror, for he has the countenance of a monster:

¹C. A. Seidel, Andreas Patasch, Zigeunerhauptmann (Cöthen: Aue, 1801), I, 274: "Ich bin Räuber! . . . Ich habe aller politischen Verfassung abgeschworen! Ich habe ewigen Hass und Verfolgung allen geschworen, die es unterfangen die Menschheit zu unterdrücken! . . . ich dürste nach blutiger Rache!"

August Leibrock, Marmorino der edle Bandit (Leipzig: Kollmann, 1827), II, 119: "Ich darf von mir sagen, dass nicht blosser Geldgewinn meine Handlungen leitete, auch habe ich wissentlich nie Böses angestiftet. . . ."

Ludwig Delarosa, Ferro Ferrini oder Der Brudermord (Nordhausen: Ffurst, 1837), II, 186.

²Heinrich Zschokke, The Bravo of Venice, trans. M. G. Lewis (London: J. Hughes, 1805), p. 15.

"Black and shining, but long and straight, his hair flew wildly about his brown neck and yellow face. His mouth was so wide, that his gums and discolored teeth were visible and a kind of convulsive twist, which scarcely ever was at rest, had formed its expression into an eternal grin. His eye (for he had but one) was sunk deep in his head and little more than the white of it was visible. . . ."¹

The bandits with whom he has made friends are not robbers of small plunder, but are the highest-paid assassins in Venice. The chief of the group declares that he and his men have as much right to lay down and alter the law of right and wrong as the Doge. The bravo believes that honor consists in fulfilling any contract agreed to and in guiding a dagger to the heart of an enemy. Abällino privately determines to rid the Republic of these men, and declares that "only one bandit shall inhabit Venice and he shall watch over right and wrong, and according as he judges, shall reward and punish."² Matheo, the chief of the band, orders Abällino to kill the Doge's niece, Rosabella. He disguises himself as an old man, engages in conversation with the lovely maiden, but instead of killing her, plunges his dagger into Matheo's breast. Soon after this event, the Doge and Rosabella meet a young Florentine, Flodoardo, who possesses extraordinary beauty and intelligence. He offers to rid Venice of its banditti, and even succeeds in doing so. Some of the nobles have been depending upon the help of these assassins to rid themselves of the Doge and his friends so that they may usurp the power themselves. They are furious to see their plans thwarted, but determine to employ the dread Abällino to commit the intended murders. He does this in return for enormous sums of money. Abällino even dares to appear before the Doge and demand Rosabella as his bride. When the Doge refuses, the bandit makes threats which he carries out within twenty-four hours. The Doge tells Flodoardo to capture Abällino if he desires to win Rosabella. The appointed time arrives when Flodoardo is supposed to appear with Abällino as his prisoner - but Abällino appears alone! He accuses publicly the nobles who are in the plot to overthrow the Doge. Then he brings in the nobles whom he has supposedly murdered. They have merely been concealed by him until the time when he can disclose the plot against the state. He then removes his disguise and appears as Flodoardo. In reality, he is a noble of Naples, and has been banished on false charges. He is now fully vindicated and

¹Ibid., p. 30 f.

²Ibid., p. 55.

Rosabella becomes his bride.

Abällino contains several motifs characteristic of the robber novel. The disguises employed by the bandit are numerous and effective. He seldom appears as der grosse Bandit, but is seen as an old man, a gondolier, a woman, or a monk. Zschokke also popularizes the motif of double identity. The motif also occurs in Bornschein's Das Nachtmahl der Verzweiflung, Buchholz' Guido Mazarini oder Irlando der Verkappte, Grillparzer's Die Ahnfrau, and E. T. A. Hoffmann's Elixiere des Teufels. Abällino differs from most robber novels in that the hero, who ultimately discloses himself as a man of noble birth, is a pseudo-bandit working for the good of the state. The heroes of other stories remain bandits until the end, yet even they perform only "noble" deeds and punish any member of the group who earns money by committing base crimes. As in Abällino, the banditti are hired to assassinate the enemies of nobles of good reputation. The bandit accepts such commissions only if he is convinced that the person whom he is hired to kill deserves death. A robber is often generous enough to rescue the wife or daughter of a poor man from a dissolute noble, even though he realizes that he will gain no material reward. He usually arrives just in the nick of time.¹ Such scenes are most dramatic. The robber stalks into the room brandishing pistols and a sword. He kills the noble, writes a note declaring himself the murderer, sweeps the fainting woman into his arms, and departs as noiselessly as he came. If a scheming woman is to be the robber's victim, the author of the novel sometimes includes a tender love scene in which the bandit is disguised as an unknown admirer. The fair lady little suspects that she is entertaining her murderer. Scenes of the above type added glamour and color to the novels. They were not necessary to the plot, but an author of a robber novel used every device to make his hero seem brave, daring, and romantic. The more melodramatic or lurid the situation, the better it pleased the reader of this trashy fiction.

Although many imitations of Abällino appeared, such as Die Heldin der Vendée, Ein weiblicher Abällino (1801) by H. F. Schmieder, the novel was better liked in England than in Germany. Its popularity was entirely eclipsed in 1797 by the publication of Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann. The author of this most beloved of all robber novels was Christian Vulpius, the brother-in-law of Goethe. He found an Italian manuscript

¹A. Leibrock, I, 124.

L. Delarosa, I, 172 f.; II, 150 f.

containing information about an Italian robber, Rinaldini, and also other references in the Journal de l'Europe. Equipped with these few facts and a vivid imagination, he managed to write a most exciting novel. A critic of the Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek praised it highly. He declared that Vulpius "versteht die Kunst, Charakter zu zeichnen und zu halten, und Begebenheiten zu ordnen"; that his "Sprache ist rein, edel, reich und biegsam, sein Dialog gedrängt, eingreifend und sehr oft apophthegmatisch."¹ We can not rely, however, upon such statements, for the same critic declares that Johann G. Müller's characterizations are comparable to those of Lessing! A rapid perusal of some of Müller's tales of terror, such as Markoff, der Seelenfänger, will prove the ridiculous exaggeration of such a comment. Nevertheless, the critic did voice the almost unanimous public opinion of Rinaldo Rinaldini. In Germany, there were five editions of the novel; it was also well known in France and England. Vulpius certainly was influenced by Schiller's Räuber. Both Rinaldo and Karl Moor are of noble birth. Rinaldo believes himself to be merely a peasant's son, for he remembers tending sheep as a boy. Both robbers deal out justice as they see it. Rinaldo differs from Karl Moor in that he has one love affair after another. Evidently, he is a very charming person, for even ladies of society are susceptible.

Rinaldini's fame spread as far as America. In 1810, a drama entitled Rinaldo Rinaldini, or The Great Banditti by William Dunlap appeared. The author did not give any indication that he borrowed his material from German sources, but when one reads the play this fact is obvious. Several scenes compare almost word for word with some in the German Rinaldo, as for instance, when one of the bandits reproaches his chief for desiring to renounce the profession: "What would you have been, had you still continued at Ostella tending your father's goats?"² The hermit in Rinaldo is a characteristic feature of the robber novel. We find an exact replica of Vulpius' hermit in the anonymous novel Carlo Cellini oder die Männer der Nacht (1821). He is a kindly figure, always ready to aid anyone who comes his way and who has become a recluse because of bitter misfortune.³ It is strange that we never meet a hermit who has adopted this mode of living because of religious zeal. Devout, pious characters simply do not occur in the robber novel.

¹Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek, L, 35 f.

²William Dunlap, Rinaldo Rinaldini (New York, 1810), p. 10.

³Anon., Carlo Cellini (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821), p. 21.

After the appearance of Rinaldo Rinaldini, it became the style to give robber-chieftains similar names, as for instance, Orlando Orlandini, Carlo Cellini, and Quorato Orsini. The locale of the novels was always Italy, Spain, or Sicily. Sometimes the robber would stray as far as Tunis or Algiers as a result of storm or capture by pirates. The author of the robber novel sought to arouse sympathy for his hero by descriptions of the cruel treatment meted out by Algerian pirates. Vivid pictures of slave marts in Tunis and Algiers occur frequently. If the hero is purchased by some wicked old tyrant, a beautiful lady of the harem is sure to rescue him. Luckily, our bandit heroes are endowed with so much personal beauty and charm that women of any class fall madly in love with them. If the bandit does not become enamoured in turn, he at least makes good use of the lady's help before deserting her. The authors seldom allow us to see their bandits in such an unfavorable light, however, and contrive, therefore, to have the lady die or be imprisoned, so that she no longer stands in the way of the hero's freedom.

When the robber reaches his native haunts again after the unpleasant experience of being a slave, he gathers about him the remnants of his followers and they seek new hiding places secure from attack. Headquarters are usually in an old castle which people believe to be haunted.¹ The Gothic architecture gives the ruins a sinister appearance and many a poor traveller meets with an unhappy fate for daring to take refuge in the castle during a storm. The castles are equipped with secret passages, hidden doors, and old tapestries and pictures. Doors are concealed in the paneling or behind knights in armor. Trapdoors suddenly give way and the explorer finds himself in a dank dungeon. There are hidden rooms, some of which contain skeletons and rusty instruments of torture. If no castles are available, the robbers tunnel caves in the sides of cliffs or deep in the forests. The caves are luxuriously furnished and brilliantly illuminated.² Our novelists delight in depicting the exciting battles that ensue whenever one of these robber-strongholds is discovered. The

¹Anon., Josephine die Banditenbraut (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1804), p. 17; T. E. Bornschein, Das Nachtmahl der Verzweiflung (3d ed.; Erfurt: Müller, 1816), I, 162; Sebastien Aniello, Carlo Endimiro oder die furchtbaren Seeräuber auf dem mittelländischen Meere (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827), I, 12; L. Delarosa, II, 40.

²J. H. Barda, Carlo von Ortobello oder der furchtbare Bund (Meissen: Goedsche, 1829), I, 15 ff.

bandits are so courageous that the soldiers seldom are successful in their attacks. After the battle, the forest is strewn with the bleeding corpses of soldiers, but the reader is supposed to waste no sympathy on these assailants of the heroic robbers.

A minor type of robber novel which contained most of the above motifs, dealt with pirates rather than land-robbers. These novels were not prevalent until after the second decade of the century. The pirates do not attack the ships of Christian nations and are given financial aid by the King of Spain and the Doge of Venice. Their leader has the rank of Admiral and usually attains this honor from deeds of valor alone, for no one suspects his noble birth. Past misfortunes drive a distinguished youth to adopt the profession of piracy. We recognize this motif as borrowed from the earlier robber novels. In Carlo Endimiro (1827), for instance, the hero has been robbed of his inheritance by his brother, driven into exile, and later informed of his father's murder at the hands of his faithless brother. Another man becomes a pirate because he has rashly killed his wife's brother. The lives of the pirates are very exciting. Most of the time is spent chasing down the ships of Algerians and Tunisians, or waging war against the Turks. In order to have an impregnable stronghold, the pirates seek out a lonely island on which to build fortresses and storehouses. A lover of this type of fiction can not but shiver with horror when he reads of the snakes and other vermin that infest the islands where the pirates wish to establish themselves. There are lengthy descriptions of how the pirates finally drive away the serpents by burning brush.¹

Much less interesting than the regular robber novels, these sea novels were entirely lacking in plot and consisted largely of descriptions of sea-battles. The characters were so standardized that the reader has difficulty in distinguishing one sea-captain from another. Possibly the novels were attempts to offer the public something new in the way of startling, terrifying episodes, but this type of story never attained the popularity of novels in the style of Abällino and Rinaldo Rinaldini.

The robber novel exerted a particular appeal in France, where the revolutionary and individualistic theories of the bandits were in full accord with public opinion. Schiller's Räuber was

¹G. Bertrant, Der Admiral Don Velasco da Gaston oder kühne Thaten eines Seeräubers des Mittelmeeres (2d ed.; Helmstädt; Fleckeisen, 1819), I, 132; S. Aniello, I, 103 ff.

as well-known and as greatly admired in France as in Germany.¹ After the introduction of the German drama to the stage, Karl Moor became "le type favori de la littérature européenne" and the leaders of the Revolution addressed a letter of congratulation to Schiller.

Two of the best-known figures of French fiction were the famous robbers, Cartouche and Mandrin. Destruction of castles, murder of nobles and prelates, abduction of maidens were a few of the practices of these blood-and-thunder heroes. Incidents from their lives occurred frequently in robber novels. Mandrin (1714-1755), whose father was killed by soldiers because of counterfeiting activities, deserted the army, became a counterfeiter, and finally a bandit. When twenty years of age, he fell in love with a girl of noble birth, convinced her that he was a rich baron and persuaded her to marry him. When he was finally captured, his wife entered a convent. German authors used this event so often that it became a conventional motif. Usually, however, the bandit's wife would choose to flee with him rather than become a nun.²

As in Germany, Zschokke's Abdallino had a definite effect upon literary fashion in France. It inspired the writing of robber novels and dramas with scenes laid in Moorish Spain and Renaissance Italy. One of the most famous French robber novels was Charles Nodier's Jean Sbogar (1818), which was an imitation of Abdallino. Both novels have their settings in Venice, each bandit has a double identity and the same type of heroic character. The band of robbers of which Sbogar is chief "proclamait la liberté et le bonheur, mais elle marchait accompagnée de l'incendie, du pillage, et de l'assassinat."³

French robber novels were also subject to English influences; Mme. de Nardouet openly admitted her admiration of English fiction and the influence it had had upon her Barberinski ou les brigands du chateau de Wissegrade. The fact, too, that Matthew Lewis, whose works were immensely popular in France, had translated Abdallino, indirectly helped to further the mode. François Ducray-Duminil shows traces of both German and English influence. His Victor ou l'enfant de la forêt (1796) is, however, definitely an imitation of the German robber novel. Ducray-Duminil's works

¹V. Rossel, Histoire des relations littéraires entre la France et l'Allemagne (Paris, 1897), p. 131.

²T. Bornschein, II, 312; A. Leibrock, Quorato Orsini, der grosse Räuberhauptmann (Leipzig: Kollmann, 1826), I, 237.

³Jean Sbogar et autres nouvelles, ed. Faguet (Paris, n. d.), p. 40.

were translated into German almost immediately after their publication and were greatly admired in Germany. Victor shows the author's acquaintance with the history of Mandrin, as in the bandit's account of his counterfeiting activities and his subsequent capture by the police. The motif of counterfeiting occurs also in German novels, particularly in Rinaldo Rinaldini and Carlo von Ortobello. Victor is different from the standard robber novel, in that the hero of the story is not a robber but the lost son of a bandit chieftain. The bandit, Robert, expresses the same ideas as a Karl Moor or a Rinaldo, although he calls himself "der Rächer, der Vertheidiger der Menschheit," he is much more ruthless and has very selfish aims.¹

Although we find heroes in English fiction similar to Karl Moor, the robber novel was not recognized as a definite genre in England until after 1800. Schiller's Räuber, Vulpius' Rinaldo, and Zschokke's Abällino were all well-known, but they called forth comparatively few imitations. Scarcely any of the English novels of this type were known in Germany, whereas the French ones were to be found in German loan-libraries. The extraordinary success of the robber novel in Germany and France reflected the universal appeal of the bandit heroes, and gave expression to the ideals of freedom and individualism current during this period.

¹F. Ducray-Duminil, Victor oder der Sohn des Waldes, trans. F. von Oertel (Leipzig und Sorau: Beygang und Ackermann, 1798), II, 33.

CHAPTER II

THE CHIVALRIC ROMANCE

Klopstock, Herder, Möser, and other writers of the eighteenth century revived popular interest in the Middle Ages. Goethe also turned to the Middle Ages for inspiration, and wrote Götz von Berlichingen (1773). While studying medieval law at Strassburg, he received the idea for his drama. At the same time he read the chronicle concerning Götz, which had appeared in 1731.¹ Goethe saw in Götz the last noble representative of the age of chivalry, and idealized the knight rather than the medieval period in his drama. The external background was vivid enough to arouse the imaginations of other authors and to inspire them to follow Goethe's lead. A period of nearly twelve years elapsed, however, after the appearance of Götz before novels and dramas of the same type were published with any frequency. During this interim, H. A. Reichard, a teacher in Gotha, began to publish his Bibliothek der Romane (1778-1794), which he claimed was modeled on the French Bibliothèque universelle des romans. Most literary historians consider Reichard's Bibliothek an important factor in the development of the chivalric romance of the late eighteenth century. Probably they assume this because Reichard classified the novel-synopses in the Bibliothek under the rubrics "Ritter-, Volks-, Deutsche-, Ausländische- und Religions-Romane." The term "Ritterromane" is misleading, for the type of novel thus designated by Reichard was a romance of chivalry comparable to the kind written concerning King Arthur, Lancelot, Wigalois, and Roland. The chivalric romance, which was popular during the latter part of the eighteenth century, was decidedly an imitation of Götz. It always had a historical German background, and a staunch German knight as hero.

Götz was based on a study of sources. The first writers of the chivalric romance also attempted to make authentic use of history. The popular scholarly interest in the Middle Ages

¹Lebensbeschreibung Herrn Gözens von Berlichingen, genannt mit der eisernen Hand, Eines zu Zeiten Kayzers Maximiliani I. und Caroli V. kühnen und tapfern Reichs-Cavaliers (Nürnberg, 1731).

demanded this, as certain articles in the Deutscher Merkur indicate.¹ Authors imitated the medieval language of Götz. We find such obsolete words for everyday things as Humpen (steins), Schragen (beds), Gelaggaden (banquet hall); dogs were called Rüden, castles, Vesten, bold knights, Waglinge, and authors even made up pseudo-medieval expressions, such as der Knöchler (death). The words bass (very) and traun (indeed) appeared frequently. Some authors did not believe, however, that such words lent enough color or medieval atmosphere, and accordingly embellished the speeches of their knights with rough, coarse expressions. Carl Cramer particularly did this, and carried it to the extreme in Hasper a Spada.²

Customs characteristic of the Middle Ages, such as jousts, tournaments, knightly warfare, and court ceremonies had an important place in the chivalric romance. Some of the descriptions of the ordeals and trial by combat provided the reader of this type of narrative with the excitement and suspense he demanded.

The ordeal by fire was a method employed to extract a confession from a person accused of a crime. Evidently authors were afraid that they might be accused of not being realistic enough, for they included all the gory details connected with such a performance. According to this test, an individual was innocent if he could walk unharmed over white-hot plates of iron or if he could carry a piece of glowing metal without burning himself. Scenes in which instruments of torture were used were as hair-raising as anyone could desire. The rack, thumbscrews, and branding irons were a few of the favorite methods of torture described by our novelists. Another means of determining a person's innocence or guilt was trial by combat.³ If a knight accused of a

¹"Einige Nachrichten von dem Ritterwesen der mittleren Zeiten," Der deutsche Merkur, 1777, part 2, p. 29; "Ueber den Wert und Nutzen der Geschichte des Mittelalters," ibid., 1788, part 4, pp. 8-32; "Gesichtspunkte für die Schriftsteller unseres Zeitalters," ibid., 1796, part 1, pp. 34-74.

²Carl Cramer, Hasper a Spada (3d ed.; Leipzig: Fleischer, 1794), I, 288: "Oder mätest du dich nicht etwan von den fetten Ochsen deiner Brüder, die wir zur Burg treiben, weil sie die feinsten Bet-Hengste zu wollüstig machen möchten, wie ein Ried-Sau? . . . Willst du Wasser saufen lernen, und Rüdensupp fressen?"

³Benedicte Naubert, Walter von Montbarry (Leipzig: Weygand, 1786), I, 496 f.; W. A. Lindau, Die weisse Frau (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1811), III, 146 f.; J. van der Hall, Ritter Paladour von dem blutigen Kreuze (Meissen: Goedsche, 1827), I, 138; Sebastian Aniello,

crime wanted to vindicate himself, he could demand such a trial. In the event that another knight would offer to fight against him, the battle took place before the king, or chief judge, and the court. If the defendant was victorious, his innocence was no longer questioned, for God had acted as judge. Sometimes the accused was a woman; she too could demand a decision by combat. Such combats were always very solemn affairs and the novelist liked to dwell at length on descriptions of the court, the lists, the combatants, and finally the combat. The throne of the judge and the seats of the spectators were draped in black. After the combatants entered the lists, a coffin was carried onto the field. A priest then made the knights swear that they carried no magic talismans and described what would happen to the one who would be defeated. Not only the knight but his whole family would be disgraced forever. His knightly weapons and coat of arms would be destroyed, his body burned, and the ashes scattered across the countryside. After this rather tedious introduction, the writer regales us with his knowledge of medieval warfare. One feels no regret at all when one of the knights is finally killed.

The trials by combat do not offer as much opportunity for authors to paint the pomp and splendour of medieval times as do the tournaments. No writer of chivalric romances can refrain from including at least one such festival in his novel.¹ Tournaments are held whenever there is any cause for celebration—at weddings, birthday feasts, and coronations. They are open to all honorable knights and are proclaimed far in advance. The knight presents a splendid figure as he rides into the lists, for he has on his best suit of armor, richly plated in either gold or silver. The trappings of his horse are magnificent and very colorful. The ladies attending the tournament warrant as much attention as the knights. Needless to say, they are all uniformly beautiful and all eager for the hero to win. After the tournament the feasting and dancing begin. If there is any romance in the story, this is where it becomes evident, for the heroine is certain to stroll in the gardens after the dance and meet the hero of the day. Solemn vows of fidelity and undying love are exchanged, and the knight rides away, ready to conquer the world for his lady.

Burg Löwenstein oder der Sturz der Bundesritter von der eisernen Krone (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1828), II, 147 f.

¹W. Lindau, II, 48; S. Aniello, Die Bundesritter von der eisernen Krone (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1828), I, 30 f.; S. Aniello, Burg Löwenstein, I, 124 ff.

Two other motifs should be cited in this general discussion of the chivalric romance. The motifs mentioned thus far have been characteristic of this type of narrative, and many of them were inspired by Götz. The scheming monk and the secret tribunal were the most important features of the novel of knighthood. The bishop in Götz was not as wicked as the ones appearing in later productions, but the current movement of anti-Catholicism gave authors all the incentive they needed to portray monks of the most evil sort. For these characters, no crime was too horrible if they thereby accomplished their ends. In Veit Weber's Männerschwur und Weibertreue (1785) the monk Bartolomäus tells of the evil perpetrated in monasteries.¹ Pater Gregor in Die Brüder des Bundes für Freyheit und Recht (1791) has an insatiable ambition. As the master of the Holy Tribunal he can rid himself of anyone hostile to his purposes. Carl Cramer introduces us to an abbot who carries off the wife of a noble knight. He imprisons her in his monastery, seduces her, and then leaves her to waste away in the horrible vaults of the old building.² Some church officials are merely greedy and desire to acquire large grants of lands for their monasteries. In order to do this, they persuade parents to promise their children to the Church, or they prevent the marriage of heirs, so that whole estates will be willed to the monastery. Lindau's Die weisse Frau is based upon this motif. The abbot Beroald puts every obstacle in the way of Count Adolf's marriage to the heroine, Thekla. The Count has signed an agreement that in the event that he dies childless, the monastery shall receive his entire property. Accordingly, Beroald causes the abduction of Thekla and instigates an attack upon Adolf's life. Abbot Gottschalk of Burg Löwenstein is another Beroald. He imprisons heirs of estates and forces them to deed their properties to him in return for their liberty. The only other alternative is death.³ Some monks are characterized by lust for power, women, and land. They murder the owner of a castle, dishonor his wife and daughter

¹Veit Weber, "Männerschwur und Weibertreue," Sagen der Vorzeit (Berlin: Maurer, 1787), I, 59: "Der roheste, wildeste Ritter würde erbeben, wenn er nur die Hälfte der Schandthaten sähe, die in den Klöstern vorgehen. . . . Ich ward nach und nach unter diesen verummten, von Layen heilig gepriesenen Teufeln, der grösste . . . so eine ausgesuchte Gesellschaft von Bösewichtern, wie in unserm Kloster, bringt das Schicksal so bald nicht wiederzusammen."

²C. Cramer, I, 298.

³S. Aniello, Burg Löwenstein, I, 109.

and take over the property.¹ Abbots employ monks of their monasteries as their henchmen. It is a simple matter to arrange to have a certain monk appointed house-priest in some particular castle. Many of these priests are not averse to picking up a bit of extra money by aiding nefarious knights in attacks upon women.² There was no opportunity to get revenge on these seemingly pious figures, who practiced all sorts of evil under the cloak of religion, for they were protected by the Holy Tribunal. Monks could be judged only by their ecclesiastical superiors, and if a knight dared to lift a hand against them, he was subject to excommunication and banishment, or even worse.³

The meeting place of the Tribunal was usually terrible enough to match the villainy of its members. It was a subterranean hall, dimly illuminated by candles. The throne of the master was draped in black and the monks were robed in white cloaks and masks. Skulls, instruments of torture, and an executioner's block were in plain sight and were calculated to weaken the prisoner's resistance. The trials were a farce, because no one ever was adjudged innocent.⁴ The victims of the Tribunal were transported to a nearby cave and propped up against the walls. No attempt was made to give them decent burial. One of our heroes found the corpse of a knight doomed by the Tribunal. He was so horrified at the discovery that he took the severed head, showed it to his comrades, and fired them with a desire for revenge. The reader

¹Christian Spiess, Die Löwenritter (Leipzig: Leo, 1794), I, 200 ff.

²S. Aniello, Die Bundesritter, I, 23.

³S. Aniello, Burg Löwenstein, II, 22; S. Aniello, Die Bundesritter, I, 175; C. Ahlefeld, Die Sicilianerin (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825), p. 172.

⁴V. Weber, Sagen der Vorzeit, I, 441: "Ein stinkender Dunst dampfte aus dem Boden, dem Leichenacker der ermordeten Unschuldigen. An den Mauern schwebte, faltig, ein grauer Moderschleier Nahe der Thür erhob sich ein ehernes Gehäge ihm zur Linken öffnete sich ein Gang, der zur Markterkammer führte."

B. Naubert, Hermann of Unna, A Series of Adventures of the Fifteenth Century, trans. from the German (London: Robinson, 1794), I, 252; V. Weber, Sagen der Vorzeit, VI; H. Müller, Udo von Horstenburg oder Vaternord und Rache (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821), I, 205; H. Müller, Graf Albert von Reinstein oder das heimliche Gericht des Teufelsmauer (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1819), I, 159.

should naturally experience a feeling of revulsion when confronted with these horribly realistic scenes, but the popularity of the type of novel containing such gory pictures disproves this assumption. Sometimes authors were content merely to build up suspense by first describing a dark, stormy night, then the posting of the summons to appear before the Tribunal. The summons always came at midnight and was announced by three hammer-blows on the portal of the castle. If a knight chose to disregard the command of the Tribunal, he could expect no mercy. Members of the Tribunal would find him eventually, no matter where he went. As soon as he was discovered, he was subject to an immediate death of the worst sort.¹

The motifs of the valiant knight, nefarious monks, medieval language and customs, and the secret tribunal all occurred in the novels of Veit Weber, who directly imitated Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen. After his use of these motifs, they became almost traditional in the chivalric romance and we shall encounter them repeatedly. Weber emulated Goethe by also using an authentic historical background. Veit Weber (Leonhard Wächter) was the father of the chivalric romance, for the novel with a medieval setting did not gain recognition as a definite literary genre until the appearance of Weber's Sagen der Vorzeit (1787-1798). The first novel of this series was Männerschwur und Weibertreue, which had appeared earlier in Ephemeriden der Literatur (1785). It was Weber's best known novel, and contained the conventional motifs and typical characters of a German medieval romance. The structure of the novel was complicated, for Weber introduced several sub-plots. The characters were so well defined, however, that it is not difficult to keep their activities distinct. Such clarity was unusual, for most of Weber's contemporaries introduced so many indistinguishable characters that the thread of the story is lost long before the end is in sight. Long as Männerschwur und Weibertreue is, the exciting events narrated hold the reader's interest.

Conrad von Wolffsstein, a dishonorable knight and Abbot Gottschalk kidnap Helene von Mayenthal. Wildungen, who is engaged to Helene's best friend, Agnes von Wertheim, rescues Helene. Before he leaves Wolffsstein's castle, he assembles the vassals and publicly declares Wolffsstein no longer a knight. This does not prevent Wolffsstein from undertaking other villainous deeds. He agrees to help Dorneck, the brother of his mistress Uda, to win the hand of Agnes. In order to succeed, they must get rid of

¹v. Weber, Sagen der Vorzeit, I, 238.

Wildungen. They convince Agnes' father that Wildungen is treacherous, and as a result bring about her marriage to Dorneck. At the wedding feast Wildungen appears, forces Dorneck to confess the plot, and kills him. Wolffsstein is summoned to appear before the Holy Tribunal, but he disregards the command. Wolffsstein tries to escape, but the Tribunal has declared him an outlaw and he can find no shelter. While resting in the forest, he meets a hermit, who discloses himself as his father, the monk Bartolomäus. Wolffsstein has an intense hatred of the monk and murders him. Soon after this members of the Tribunal capture and kill him. While Wolffsstein is paying bitterly for his crimes, the Abbot is also being hounded by justice. He has held captive a noble maiden, dishonoured her, and then abandoned her. His mistress, Cäcilie, prevents Kleeborn, Helene's fiancé, from murdering the Abbot. When Wildungen storms the castle, Kleeborn is killed by his friend's hand, for he does not disclose his identity before the duel begins.

Wildungen is the typical knight, ever ready to defend the rights and property of other persons as well as his own. He delights in tournaments and knightly achievements. His courage is so remarkable that he is always surrounded by devoted followers. In battle, he is brutally fierce but when he returns home, no trace of this is apparent. There he is a loving husband, who sits in the great hall of his castle with his wife at his side and his friends about him. The knights empty the Humpen and listen to the songs of the minstrels. Such scenes remind us of Götz. Kleeborn is another Weislingen. He is susceptible to beautiful women and forgets Helene when he is in the presence of Cäcilie. Cäcilie has a character as diabolical as that of Adelheid von Walldorf. Both women desire power and sacrifice everything to gain it. Although the Bishop of Bamberg in Götz can not begin to compare with the wicked Abbot Gottschalk, he is a character inimical to the hero and the best welfare of the state.

Weber's novels differed from those of many of his contemporaries in their historical accuracy. He used prolific footnotes to explain archaic words or to define a word if its meaning had changed during the course of time.¹ He distinguished between a

¹Sometimes these footnotes were so long that they covered several pages. V. Weber, Sagen der Vorzeit, I, 67; IV, 42; VI, 5, 382. Ibid., I, 317: "Kneuffen (Knöpfen), gerunzert (in Falten gelegt), gefrenzert (mit Franzen besetzt)." Ibid., VI, 116: "Zuchtmeister: Dieses Wort bezeichnete im Mittelalter einen Lehrer und Erzieher: nicht aber, wie jetzt, einen Mann, der körperliche Züchtigungen an Missthätern vollzieht."

novel founded on traditional history and one based on facts,¹ and always quoted authoritative sources.²

Benedicte Naubert, daughter of a Leipzig professor and sometimes characterized as the German Walter Scott, used actual facts as background for her novels and helped popularize the Middle Ages. She was one of the most prolific writers of the time, for between 1787 and 1790 she composed thirteen historical novels. She enjoyed describing old-time festivals such as Christmas or a minstrel's initiation ceremonies.³ Rarely did she yield to popular taste for the mysterious, unless perhaps in the description of some old building of Gothic exterior.⁴ The mere mention of anything Gothic was enough to prepare the reader for thrills and surprises. The characters of her novels were seldom as interesting as those which Weber portrayed, because any description of personal emotions or conflict was lacking.

Hermann von Unna is one of the most interesting of her romances of chivalry, and closely resembles the novels of Veit Weber as to motifs and setting. There are terrifying pictures of the proceedings of the Secret Tribunal during the time of Emperors Winceslaus and Sigismond. The heroine, Ida Munster, has been accused of sorcery and it seems almost impossible that she will be declared innocent. This formidable society is responsible for most of Hermann's misfortunes also. He describes it to Ida in

¹Ibid., IV, 141: "Die Geschichte hat von dieser Genossenschaft (Brüder des Bundes für Freyheit und Recht) nichts zur Kunde der Nachwelt gebracht; allein die Sage. Jene nimmt ihre Nachrichten nur von öffentlichen Denkmälern: diese behält was, und wo sie's auch findet."

²His two most important sources were: J. B. de la Curne de Ste.-Palaye, Memoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie (Paris, 1759-1781) and Jean B. du Mailly, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, trans. from the French (Leipzig: Weidmann und Reich, 1782). Other sources were J. Möser, Osnabrückische Geschichte; N. Kindlinger, Münsterische Beyträge zur Geschichte Deutschlands, hauptsächlich Westphalen; Paul v. Stetten, des Jüngern, Kunst-, Gewerk-, und Handwerksgeschichte von Augsburg.

³B. Naubert, Walter von Montbarry, I, 29, 136.

⁴Ibid., p. 183: ". . . das Kloster . . . ein ungeheurer unförmlicher Steinhau, der durch manche seiner Überhangenden, den Einsturz drohenden Gewölben von seinem Alterthum zeugte . . . ihr würdet staunen über die gothische ungeformte Bauart desselben."

the following terms:

"The members of which, spread all over the earth, are informed, almost in the twinkling of an eye, of what passes in the most distant parts of their invisible empire, as if they were connected by some magic chain. You have seen how numerous are the judges and associates of this tribunal."¹

The plots of Benedicte Naubert's novels are based on far-reaching intrigues. In Hermann von Unna, the machinations of the Secret Tribunal and the efforts of Ida's father constantly thwart Hermann's attempts to marry Ida or even to see her. She is to be the means of forming an alliance with a powerful duke, who is willing to help her father seize the throne if Ida is given to him. In Walter von Montbarry, the hero is buffeted about from earliest youth. He does not know the identity of his parents, but the secret of his birth is no mystery to the most powerful members of society, including the Queen of England. The motif of mysterious birth frequently occurs in the chivalric romance, as well as in the contemporary robber novel and the tale of terror.²

Although many authors sought to emulate the novels of Veit Weber and Benedicte Naubert, few of them could write narratives replete with exciting events and suspense, based on actual facts. Accordingly, these lesser writers dealt with either one or the other aspect. This was the degeneration of the chivalric romance into the purely historical novel, on the one hand, and the novel of passion, on the other.

Professor Friedrich Schlenkert wrote novels of the historical type. His heroes were historical figures, such as Kaiser Henrich IV, Moritz of Saxony, Rudolf of Habsburg and Bernhard, Duke of Sachsen-Weimar. None of the narratives were particularly interesting; they were laboured attempts to present history accurately in story form. The didactic elements were too marked. Bernhard, Herzog zu Sachsen-Weimar (1818) consists of tedious dialogues about the state of political affairs in Germany during the year 1631. Except for some battles and the persecution of the Protestants, it is entirely lacking in action. Nothing occurs to relieve the monotony of the frequent religious arguments. Schlenkert's most famous novel, Friedrich mit der gebissenen Wange

¹The quotation is in English as a German copy of Hermann was not available. B. Naubert, Hermann of Unna, II, 34.

²W. A. Lindau, Die weisse Frau (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1811), III, 93 f.; G. Jördens, Lanzelot vom See (Leipzig: Kollmann, 1822), p. 155; J. v. d. Hall, Paladour von dem blutigen Kreuze (Meissen: Goedsche, 1827), II, 223.

(1785), is as dreary as the others.

Gottlob Heinse, a bookseller, was a very prolific writer of novels written in imitation of Naubert's. In a period of seven years, he produced twenty-three historical novels. Although he claimed to adhere closely to actual events, the novels themselves disprove the statement. Among his heroes are Heinrich von Plauen, Ludwig der Springer, and Ludwig der Eiserne. Other authors of this type of narrative were Ludwig von Baczko, a professor at Königsberg, and Johann Georg Schilling, whose most famous work was Berthold von Urach (1787-1789). Although all of these authors were influenced noticeably by Veit Weber, none of them attained to his level. Either they were too didactic or too ignorant of historical facts. They could not happily combine real history and narrative interest. The only thing they employed successfully in imitation of his novels was the dialogue style.

Carl Gottlob Cramer, the most popular author of chivalric romances, studied theology at Leipzig, was a tutor in Weissenfels and Naumburg, and was appointed a teacher at the Forstakademie in Dreissigacker near Meiningen. In the preface to the second edition of Hasper a Spada, Cramer wrote: "Ich habe ja meine Schriften in den Händen eines Fürsten gefunden, für dessen Geist und Herzen Deutschland Ehrfurcht haben muss."¹ Cramer had not yet received his teaching appointment at Meiningen when he said this, so it is not proven whether the prince to whom he referred, was the Duke of Meiningen. In any event, such a statement was not idle boasting, for Cramer did enjoy an unheard of popularity even among the better classes of society.² He made no attempt to cater to critics, but rather delighted in flaunting his success in their faces. In speaking of himself and his colleagues, he said:

"Uns ist daran gelegen, dass die Welt uns lese und gern lese; darum kümmern wir uns auch nicht, es ist uns einerley, was ihr von uns schmiert, wenn wir nur den Ton treffen, in welchem Herzen und Sinne unsers Zeitalters gestimmt sind!"³

¹Carl Cramer, p. viii.

²Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek, Vol. 50, part 2, 371 f: "Und wirklich hat der Redensent die Erfahrung gemacht, dass der Name des Verfassers auf das romangierige Lesepublikum wie eine Zauberruthe wirke, dass er allerdings sagen konnte: 'Meine Romane werden, was auch immer trübsinnige, mürrische Recensenten denken und sagen mögen, nicht gelesen, sondern verschlungen. . . .'"

³A. Koberstein, Grundriss der Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur (Leipzig, 1827), IV, 234.

He prided himself that he enjoyed the public's favor to such an extent that his books were read and even re-edited long before reviews appeared.¹

Hasper a Spada (1792) was Cramer's most successful novel. Much of it was modelled on Götz von Berlichingen and Weber's Männerschwur und Weibertreue. Cramer used the dialogue and characteristic medieval vocabulary of Weber, described tournaments and feudal wars in his master's fashion, and created much atmosphere with the minstrel, Klingsohr, who sang of things most loved by the knights—wine, women, and war. In order to appear accurate, Cramer prefixed a short historical resumé. He pointed out the tyranny exercised by the priests of the Church, and narrated the civil wars carried on among the princes of Germany. The hero was an actual figure of this epoch. To the facts of Hasper's life, Cramer added episodes from the lives of two other German knights, Adolph von Vaner and Heinrich von Schlotheim, to make Hasper appear even more heroic. Hasper was always ready to risk his life for the cause of justice. His tenants were devoted to him, for they suffered no hardship under his rule. The vassals of other knights turned to him for help when they were hard pressed by their own lords. His character is aptly portrayed by Edeline, the fiancée of Hugo von Hutten:

"Deutschland würde keine Mördergrube sein, wenn er seine Kaiserkrone trüg. Er wählt kalt im Herzblute lachender Buben, und weint der leidenden Unschuld eine gefühlvolle Thräne! fasst mit der Rechten den stolzen tückischen Mönch an der Gurgel, und theilt mit der Linken der hungernden Wittwe sein Brod aus!"²

Naturally enough, Hasper has many enemies. Not the least powerful of these is Ida von Ladenburg, the counterpart of Adelheid von Walldorf in Götz. These two women have similar dreams of power and by intrigue control political events to a large extent. Like Adelheid, Ida has a powerful ally in a bishop, who realizes that Hasper is dangerous to his welfare. Hasper's own house-priest, Luprian, betrays him and arranges the kidnapping of Benigna, Hasper's wife. The spirit of his dead father apprises Hasper of this and warns him of the future.³ Hasper rescues his mother

¹C. Cramer, p. 111 f.

²Ibid., I, 241.

³Ibid., I, 297: "Eine blaue Flamme steigt vor ihm auf, und er bebt zurück. Das ganze Zimmer wird wie durch einen Blitz erleuchtet, und ein Geist in Rittertracht, mit geschlossenem Helmsturz, steht vor ihm."

from a wicked abbot, only to have her die in his arms. He works a terrible revenge on the abbot by imprisoning him in the burial vault of the castle and giving him plenty of food and drink, so that the monk will have ample time to meditate on past sins. After this occurrence, Hasper loses all gentleness and kindness. He is feared by all knights and priests who are conscious of having done any wrong. Warfare in all its medieval horror becomes the chief theme of the novel from this point on.

Hasper a Spada is the link between the historical type of chivalric romance and the novel of passion. It is predominantly historical, but the touch of the supernatural, which appears here for the first time in the chivalric romance, appealed to many. Some of Cramer's contemporaries, such as Spiess, Heinrich Müller, Voss, and Lindau, chose the novel of passion as their field of endeavour. We find a dominance of terroristic aspects and only a superficial treatment of historical background and facts. Departed spirits, subterranean corridors and vaults, trapdoors, tournaments, generous Saracens, scheming monks—these were all motifs to be used in a single novel. Many of the motifs came directly from the tale of terror, then so popular.

It is natural to find a large number of terroristic motifs in the chivalric narratives of Christian Heinrich Spiess, for he excelled in writing tales of terror. In his tales of terror, Spiess usually preferred to leave mysterious, supernatural events unexplained, but in the chivalric romances he created an atmosphere of mystery and then delighted in eventually explaining it away. Die Löwenritter, a four volume novel, appeared in 1794. It consisted of a succession of extremely tiresome anti-climaxes; evidently Spiess designed it to include every possible medieval motif. The Knights of the Lion are members of a secret society which has assumed the duty of dispensing justice as its leader sees fit. A knight must possess certain qualifications and undergo four dangerous trials before he is adjudged worthy of membership. The trials are of such a nature that they test a man's bravery, honor, and endurance. The hero, Friedrich von Froburg, overcomes all the obstacles in the first attempt. There are four degrees in the organization; if a knight desires promotion, he is subjected to new trials. Only the members of the fourth degree are eligible to leadership. The ritual is replete with symbolism and shows the influence of Freemasonry. The symbolic language, trials for the various degrees, and structure of the organization were copied by Sebastian Aniello many years later in his novel, Die Bundesritter von der eisernen Krone oder die geheimen Rächenden (1828). In both novels, the most influential knights are tricked by a rival society into joining the Crusades; this rival society

desires to become all-powerful in Germany, and realizes that this is not possible until the Knights of the Lion are disposed of. The adventures of the knights and their wives in the Holy Land form the kernel of the story. The bravery of the Knights of the Lion sets them apart from other crusaders and attracts the attention of Korradin, nephew of Saladin. When the knights are finally captured by the Saracens, Korradin treats them with the greatest respect and promises them freedom. The motif of the noble Saracen occurs in many medieval romances. Usually the Saracen is a historical figure of some note, such as Saladin, Korradin, or Nuredin. He is the generous, noble enemy with none of the evil characteristics which the Crusaders thought peculiar to Saracens. A variation of this theme is the Saracen who falls in love with a Christian captive. In Die Löwenritter, Korradin is enamoured of Adelgunde, a lovely Sicilian. In spite of his noble qualities, she refuses to marry him and even rewards his devotion with treachery. In some instances, the captive is not averse to the Saracen's love and a happy union is the result.

The above motifs create medieval atmosphere. Even if an author has no accurate historical knowledge, he can include enough crusades, tournaments, and tribunals to make his story satisfy the demand for historical fiction. If, in addition to such medieval motifs, the author can include elements arousing fear and suspense, he is assured of success. Many times simply mechanical devices are used to arouse fear. The knights are constantly falling through trapdoors and finding themselves imprisoned in horrible dungeons.¹ Secret societies have ingenious methods of terrifying knights desiring membership. In one instance, a knight is forced to recline in a coffin. He expects sudden death, but instead, this is only a test of his courage, for someone steps on a concealed spring and the knight rolls out of the coffin into an underground chamber.² There are castles equipped with secret passages and hidden doors. Strange characters, whose identity remains mysterious until late in the story, have secret hiding-places in or about a castle. In Die weisse Frau there is a dwelling place in the tomb of the supposedly dead lady Emma.³ When Thekla, the heroine of the novel, is in danger, the "white lady," whom everyone believes to be a ghost, rescues

¹C. Spiess, Die Löwenritter, I, 99; H. Müller, Udo v. Horstenburg, I, 207; H. Müller, Graf Albert v. Reinstein, I, 156; S. Aniello, Die Bundesritter, I, 62.

²S. Aniello, Die Bundesritter, I, 79, 85.

³W. Lindau, Die weisse Frau, II, 93.

her and conceals her in this empty sepulcher. The lady finally declares herself Thekla's mother, who has lived in the tomb many years to watch over her daughter's welfare and protect her from the avarice of monk Beroald.

In most instances, seemingly supernatural apparitions are eventually explained. When the Knights of the Lion achieve too much fame through their exploits in the Holy Land, the leader of a rival society manufactures a clever scheme by which he hopes to bring back the Knights of the Lion to Germany. At a feast given by old Count Farnsburg, a stranger appears. He is dressed in the costume of one of Charlemagne's knights. He claims to be the founder of the house of Farnsburg, and cannot rest in peace until all his posterity lies buried beside him. He presents a horrible spectacle to the old count—the ghosts of the Knights of the Lion and their wives. Spiess allows his imagination full play and this scene is gruesome enough to satisfy the most bloodthirsty reader of tales of terror.¹ The worthy ancestor disappears as mysteriously as he came. Here we find a footnote which prepares us for the dénouement which later follows:

"Oft scheint eine Begebenheit höchst unwahrscheinlich, ohne es deswegen in der That zu sein. Auch ihnen soll in der Folge Aufklärung dieser Geschichte werden, und bis diese erfolgt, bitte ich nochmals um Geduld!"²

There is nothing supernatural about the performance. No such hint of a later explanation occurs, however, in Aniello's Bundesritter. At midnight, old Count Löwenstein is awakened by the noise of clanking chains. Suddenly the door flies open and there appears a knight in black armor, dragging chains. He announces himself as Löwenstein's ancestor and warns Löwenstein not to permit Conrad, the hero of the novel, to marry his daughter. The second time the ghost appears, he demands that the Knights of the Iron Crown join the crusades. Just before the end of the novel the explanation of these nocturnal visits is made. The ghost is none other than a monk of a neighboring monastery. His abbot has commissioned him to carry out this hoax in order to destroy Conrad

¹C. Spiess, Die Löwenritter, II, 450: "Eine Seitenthür der Kapelle sprang auf; mehr als hundert geharnischte Ritter traten herein . . . sie trugen die Ehrenzeichen des Löwens . . . zwei Ritter mit weiblichen Gestalten am Arme erschienen. Der Anblick war schrecklich, sie warn ohne Harnisch, bedeckt mit Wunden, und verstümmelt an allen Gliedmassen, aus ihren Köpfen rann das Hirn herab"

²Ibid., II, 456.

and the most powerful members of the secret organization. Similar scenes occur in the tale of terror; in the tale of terror, however, the supernatural incidents do not, as a rule, receive a natural explanation.

Although the chivalric romance was contemporary with the tale of terror, it had an earlier beginning. As a result, authors of tales of terror borrowed many of the more popular motifs, such as medieval settings, doughty knights, wicked monks, and secret tribunals, from the chivalric romance. In this way the two genres became closely related and it is sometimes difficult to determine to which literary type a novel belongs. Generally, the medieval type of the tale of terror was an exaggerated form of the chivalric romance.

CHAPTER III
THE TALE OF TERROR

The first sensational tale of terror—an English product, Horace Walpole's Castle of Otranto (1764)—served as a model for many similar works in England and was ultimately the inspiration of the German genre. Such novels were called Gothic stories or romances, because Walpole had given his novel the subtitle, "A Gothic Story." Previous to 1762, "Gothic" was a term of contempt Dryden, Shaftesbury, and Fielding employed it to mean something crude, dark, mysterious, and uncultured. Bishop Richard Hurd first vindicated the term in his Letters on Chivalry and Romance (1762), in which he pointed out the favorable characteristics of "Gothic" times. Instead of referring vaguely to the Middle Ages as a period of dark and somber mystery and ignorance, he gave historical facts. Upon these he based the opinion that chivalry was the "natural and even sober effect of the feudal policy" and that "the prowess, gallantry, and magnificence of these sons of Mars is naturally and easily explained on this supposition."¹

The publication of the Poems of Ossian (1760-63) further developed the interest in the mysterious and supernatural. The poems were supposedly written by Ossian, son of Fingal, a Celtic hero of the third century. Shadowy ghosts people the lakes, heaths, and hills; an air of mystery pervades the scene. Ossian became immensely popular in Germany; Herder and Goethe highly esteemed the poems, and many translations and imitations appeared.² Some of the poems were reprinted in magazines and newspapers. Many hack novelists became acquainted with Ossian through such ephemeral publications. Everyone read the poems. German authors borrowed Ossianic names freely. Carl G. Cramer's Der arme Görge (1800) included a poem entitled "Ryno, der Barde an Furas Hugel."³ In it appeared the names Amira, Arindal, Ryno, Salgar, and Selma,

¹Hurd's Letters on Chivalry and Romance, ed. Edith Morley (London, 1911), pp. 4, 85.

²Rudolf Tombo, Ossian in Germany (New York, 1901), pp. 1, 65.

³Carl Cramer, Der arme Görge (Leipzig: Fleischer, 1800), pp. 178 ff.

taken from Ossian. Heinrich Müller, who imitated Walter Scott and also wrote Gothic romances, borrowed the title of his novel, Die Erstürmung von Selama oder die Rache, from Ossian.¹

In 1765, the appearance of the Reliques of Ancient English Poetry by Bishop Percy increased popular taste for a mysterious past. Although the first complete German edition was not published until 1790, these ballads stimulated an interest for similar collections in Germany. The German collections had, in turn, a remarkable influence upon such English writers as Anne Radcliffe, Monk Lewis, and Walter Scott. Bürger's ballads, particularly Lenore (1773), were as well known abroad as in Germany.²

Interest in the Middle Ages and things "Gothic" occasioned the writing of Longsword, An Historical Romance (1752) by Reverend Thomas Leland. Walpole's Castle of Otranto soon followed. Walpole's novel was, as the author himself stated:

" . . . an attempt to blend the two kinds of romance, the ancient and the modern. In the former, all was imagination and improbability; in the latter, Nature is always intended to be, and sometimes has been, copied with success. Invention has not been wanting; but the great resources of fancy have been dammed up by a strict adherence to common life."³

The subject of the story is the Gothic castle, where most of the action occurs. It has underground passages, dark, fearful chambers, and all the apparatus usually associated with a medieval fortress. The events take place between 1095 and 1243. On the morning of his wedding day, Manfred's son, who is engaged to Isabella, is found in the courtyard of the castle of Otranto, crushed beneath an enormous helmet. Isabella is forced to flee in order to escape Manfred, who, although long married to Hippolyta, is determined to put away his wife and to espouse Isabella in order to have a male heir. While Isabella is trying to elude her pursuers in the subterranean passage of the castle, she is rescued by a young peasant, Theodore, who resembles Alfonso, the original owner of the castle. Alfonso's portrait hangs in the gallery. At one point in the story, the figure leaves the frame and appears to Manfred, commanding him to give up Otranto to Theodore, the rightful heir. The latter is identified by the

¹F. W. Bachmann, Some German Imitators of Walter Scott (Univ. of Chicago, 1933), p. 5.

²H. F. Wagener, Das Eindringen von Percys Reliques in Deutschland (Heidelberg, 1897), p. 23.

³H. Walpole, The Castle of Otranto ("The Kings Classics"; London, 1907), pp. iv f.

mark of a "bloody arrow"—a common motif in Gothic romances—and finally is united with Isabella, since his betrothed, Mathilda, had been inadvertently killed by her own father. Manfred and Hippolyta enter neighboring convents. Many unexplained ghostly events occur throughout the story, such as the appearance of huge pieces of armour, the arrival of a hundred men carrying an immense saber, the disaster caused by the massive helmet, and the curious intervention of Alfonso, who then ascends into heaven.

Walpole made little attempt at characterization; more than once the characters fall out of type by citing eighteenth century aphorisms. Moreover, although the setting of the novel is in southern Italy, one would scarcely know this except for the author's direct statement. Walpole had not the ability to see the Middle Ages in all their life and color, and consequently produced a novel which, although interesting and new to the readers of his age, seems extremely vague and disappointingly unimaginative and trite to the modern reader. Few authors of Gothic romances, however, attempted to create authentic, historical settings.

Walter Scott was greatly impressed by the Castle of Otranto; in his introduction to a new edition, he called it the first modern attempt to found a tale of fiction on ancient romances of chivalry, and deemed that Walpole had succeeded in his aim to excel in the "art of exciting surprise and horror." Since Walpole had no idea how his novel, which was indeed an innovation, would be received, he published it as a translation from the Italian of Onuphrio Muralto. After this there was a deluge of novels with a Gothic castle as the chief motif, such as J. Bird's Castle of Hardayne (1795), Mrs. Parson's Castle of Wolfenbach (1793), F. Lathom's Castle of Ollado (1799), and the anonymous Montrose or the Gothic Ruin (1800). Even in England, the Gothic novel did not become popular until long after the appearance of Horace Walpole's story. Clara Reeve's The Champion of Virtue (or The Old English Baron) (1777) was obviously an imitation of the Castle of Otranto with its clanking of invisible armor, haunted apartments, and dismal groans, and the sudden appearance of a knight in complete armor, who is recognized as the murdered owner of the Castle. The motif of the discovery of the lost heir in the person of a young peasant is also included. This novel appeared in German translation in 1789. In Germany, the English Gothic romance influenced the chivalric romance rather than the tale of terror. Novels with settings in medieval times were extremely popular. Many of them contained supernatural occurrences, but these events were seldom left unexplained.

The authors who knew how to emphasize the ghostly, the supernatural, and the horrible were the best known. In England,

Mrs. Radcliffe was outstanding. She was better known in Germany and France than Walpole and other authors of the English tale of terror.¹ The German novelists, Spiess, Cramer, Vulpius, and Zachokke were as familiar to the English and French public as to the German. In England, any book advertised as a product of the German school was purchased for that reason alone,² and in Germany, a novel needed only the letters "a.d.E." on the title-page to assure its success. A swarm of translators chose originals which would have the greatest popular appeal. Moreover, loan-libraries enjoyed the same favor in England as in Germany. In them one found the products of the German school. Carlyle characterized the romances of Weber and other German authors as specimens of "the bowl-and-dagger department" where

"Black Forest and Lubberland, sensuality and horror, the spectre nun and the charmed moonshine shall not be wanting. Boisterous outlaws also, with huge whiskers, and the most cat-o-mountain aspect; tear-stained sentimentalists, the grimmest man-haters, ghosts, and the like suspicious characters, will be found in abundance!"³

The basic motifs of the tale of terror were ghosts,— either real or manufactured,— the devil, evil spirits, Gothic castles, tempests, imprisoned heroines, kind hermits, birthmarks, wicked monks, secret societies, magic mirrors, swords, enchanted wands, and all the other paraphernalia associated with black magic. Plots were essentially similar and characterization was standardized. There was always the lovely blond heroine, who, at some time in the course of events, suffered imprisonment in a haunted castle or among corpses in a dank dungeon. The hero was the valiant youth of obscure birth and was eventually revealed as the lost child of a noble family. There was at least one villainous

¹There has been some discussion as to whether Walpole or Radcliffe had the greater influence upon the German tale of terror. J. Brauchli, in his Der englische Schauerroman um 1800 (Weida in Thüringen, 1928), p. 117, is inclined to minimize Walpole's importance in Germany, but he bases his argument upon the false assumption that the English novel first appeared in Germany in 1794. L. M. Price, in The Publication of Eng. Lit. in Germany (Univ. of Calif. Press, 1934), p. 17, has pointed out that Brauchli failed to discover the 1768 translation.

²F. W. Stokoe, German Influence in the English Romantic Period (Cambridge, 1926), p. 17.

³Thomas Carlyle, "State of German Literature," Critical and Miscellaneous Essays (New York, 1880), p. 19.

monk, and sometimes there were as many as three. The monk was governed either by an unholy passion for the heroine or by lust for power. Secret societies were an important motif in the German novel, but they appeared less frequently in the English tale of terror. The Inquisition figured prominently in the works of both countries. Conjuraton of spirits and pacts with the devil were motifs inspired by the current interest in cabbalism. An effect of supernatural awe was built up by the use of desolate scenery, tempests, screeching owls, and hovering bats. Exciting events invariably occurred in haunted castles, burial vaults, or dark, windswept moors. One has the impression that nothing unusual happened except at the mystic hour of midnight. Ghosts stalked through deserted corridors, clothed in flowing white robes or in black armor, dragging chains or carrying flickering candles. In the earlier narratives, the ghosts were real spectres, but after 1800 the tale of terror in which supernatural events were explained became the vogue. People, long believed dead, appeared as phantoms to haunt their persecutors or murderers. These pseudo-spirits used mechanical devices to increase the terror which they wished to arouse. A phosphorescent glow, clanking chains, or tinkling bells announced their presence. Suspense attained by supernatural mystery was a requisite of a good tale of terror. Even in novels where supernatural events were explained away, the dénouement was supposed to contain astounding discoveries, which would partially repay the reader for the suspense he had endured. Mysterious manuscripts, letters of warning, inexplicable music, dismal groans, and suddenly disappearing lights were some of the motifs used to create an atmosphere of expectation and dread.

English influence doubtless had much to do with initiating the craze for the tale of terror in Germany during the period from 1790 to 1830. Social factors, however, were equally responsible. The tale of terror was different from any previous literary mode, for it was written with the sole purpose of satisfying the public's love of the horrible and the supernatural. During this period, secret societies, particularly the Freemasons, exercised a tremendous influence. The mysterious rites and strange practices of such organizations appealed to a people wearied of the theories and rules of the age of rationalism. Members of every class of society succumbed to the desire to belong to a secret order. The swindler, Cagliostro (Guiseppe Balsamo, 1743-1795), was hailed as an almost supernatural being, for people were only too ready to believe that he really could summon spirits and transform the baser metals into gold. He introduced new rituals into Freemasonry, claiming that they were borrowed from the ancient parchments of the Egyptians. Cagliostro founded the first order in

which women might participate, and thus gained an extraordinary prestige. His power was believed in implicitly until 1787, when he was exposed by Elisa von Recke, a former adherent.¹ When Cagliostro was in Mitau in 1779, she eagerly awaited the promised contact with departed spirits, but nothing happened. Instead, Elisa merely heard repetitions of Cagliostro's stories about buried treasure, alchemy, and reincarnation. None of his prophecies materialized, and she began to doubt his integrity. Cagliostro was proven a fraud and was doubly disgraced because of his part in the necklace scandal at the French court. Nevertheless, even after this exposé, Lavater, Sarasin, and Schlosser received and supported him.

Naturally, the events of Cagliostro's career excited much interest. The fascination Cagliostro and secret societies held for the public was sufficient proof that any novels containing these motifs would be read avidly. Schiller first used the figure of Cagliostro in a novel, Der Geisterseher (1789). The ghost-seer, a mysterious person disguised as an Armenian, continually thrusts himself into the path of a German prince visiting in Venice. He alarms the prince by making prophecies which are fulfilled. At a seance, the ghost-seer appears as a Russian officer. This seance is obviously modeled upon those held by Cagliostro. The guests are seated in a mystic circle around an altar adorned with a skull, a crucifix, and a Bible. The spiritualist's costume is most peculiar and is covered with magic symbols. As soon as the magician falls into a trance, everyone in the circle feels an electric shock. Thunder is heard, the light is extinguished, and the spirit of the prince's dearest friend appears. This spirit answers the prince's questions and then disappears. When the magician awakens from the trance, the Russian tells him that never again will he be allowed to summon spirits. Immediately, soldiers break down the door, arrest the spiritualist, and investigate the house. They find complicated apparatus used to create the ghostly apparitions.² The prince questions the magician about the Russian and hears strange tales. This mysterious person is said to be

¹A. von Hanstein, "Wie entstand Schiller's Geisterseher?" Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte (Berlin, 1903), p. 33f

²"Der Geisterseher," Schillers sämtliche Werke (Stuttgart und Berlin, 1904), II, 253: "In diesem Gewölbe fand man eine Electrisiermaschine, eine Uhr, und eine kleine silberne Glocke, welche mit dem Altar und dem darauf beiestigten Crucifixe Communication hatte"

immortal; he neither eats nor sleeps, always disappears for one hour at midnight, and is supposed to be able to summon spirits. The Armenian-Russian is in reality an officer of the Inquisition and uses all sorts of mysterious methods to induce the Prince to join the Catholic Church. Eventually, he is successful.

Der Geisterseher had a significant influence upon Schiller's contemporaries. The other sources of the tale of terror, particularly the English Gothic novel and Bürger's ballads, were important, but the Geisterseher really initiated the genre in Germany.¹ Schiller's story was very short, and he never completed it. Other authors, however, seized upon this motif of a ghost-seer and elaborated upon it to the extent of two and three volumes. One such novel was Bornschein's Moritz Graf von Portokar oder zwei Jahre aus dem Leben eines Geistersehers (1800). Count Moritz is the object of a deep-laid intrigue, whereby a group of thieves hopes to obtain his large fortune. One of the thieves assumes the rôle of a ghost-seer. He produces ghosts, earthquakes, skeletons, and life-giving elixirs upon command. His costume is the same as that of Schiller's ghost-seer, even to the detail of his appearing bare-foot at seances. When the count expresses a desire to speak with his father's spirit, the ghost-seer agrees to arrange the meeting. The seance is exactly like that in the Geisterseher.² When the Count's fiancée dies, the spiritualist brings her back to life. We realize, of course, that she has been given a powerful sleeping potion; the ghost-seer appears on the scene at the moment when she is supposed to revive.

A similar scheme forms the plot of Albrecht's Die Geister der Nacht (1796).³ In this novel, the ghost-seer has few accomplices. He relies rather upon an old castle to awaken the Baron's fear of the supernatural. The castle is rigged up with machinery which operates whenever a concealed spring is pressed. A knight in armor springs out through a secret door in the wall, an iron grating descends from the ceiling and encloses the bed, mysterious voices are heard, and earthquakes shake the castle. The Baron is forced to leave, but the ghost-seer accompanies him and arranges similar terrifying devices in other quarters.

¹Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek, V, 592.

²J. Bornschein, Moritz Graf von Portokar (Meissen: Erbstein, 1800), I, 169. The motif also occurs in August Lafontaine's Rudolph von Werdenberg (Berlin, 1793).

³J. F. Albrecht, "Die Geister der Nacht," Trümmer der Vergangenheit aus ihren Ruinen ans Licht gebracht (Hamburg: Hoffmann, 1796), p. 134.

The Cagliostro craze also affected Veit Weber, chiefly an author of chivalric romances. Consequently, he wrote Die Teufelsbeschwörung (1791), in which an old man is convinced that he can summon spirits to serve him. He has a mysterious chamber of exorcism, draped in black and adorned with mystic symbols. His small nephew strays into the room and begins to read aloud from the secret book of wisdom. A terrifying devil appears and murders the child. The old man believes that this was a real devil, but really it was a scoundrel who assumed this disguise to deceive the uncle, kill the child, and become sole heir of his victims' fortune.

It was not unusual during this period for people to believe that spirits actually did exist. Interest in magic was evidenced by Wiegleb's Unterricht in der natürlichen Magie (1779), Funk's Natürliche Magie (1783), and Keller's Grab des Aberglaubens. Paracelsus was again brought to light and his theories concerning elemental beings were used by our novelists.¹ Christian Vulpus' Der Maltheser (1804) was not a novel concerning the activities of the knights of Malta, as the name implies, but a narrative in which a sylphid played the chief rôle. "Sylphid" was the name given by Paracelsus to the elemental beings of the air, conceived as mortal, but soulless. A knight of Malta is introduced to a tiny sylphid held captive in a glass case, by the ghost-seer, Bartofano. The knight releases the sylphid, who immediately becomes a lovely woman. She explains that she can possess a soul only after she weds a mortal. The knight is so much in love with her that he agrees to marry her. We recognize this same theme in Fouqué's Undine.

Christian Spiess' Das Petermännchen (1791) was the most famous tale of terror in which spirits had an active part. This novel had every possible kind of spirit. The first one we meet is Little Peter. The hero, Rudolf, thinks that Peter is an ancestral spirit, but really he is a henchman of the devil. Opposed to Peter is Mathilde, the spirit of virtue. They both fight for the mastery of Rudolf's soul. It seems only right that Peter should win, for Rudolf seduces six maidens, murders at least thirty people, and commits incest. In spite of these crimes, he remains a fascinating personality and the reader does not rejoice when the devil, accompanied by Peter, comes to claim his soul. This scene in which the devil rends Rudolf from limb to limb and

¹Spiess introduced the figure of Paracelsus himself in the novel, Die Geheimnisse der alten Egipzier (Leipzig: Leo, 1798), I, 114 ff.

scatters his brains about the room is obviously an imitation of similar ones in the Faust chapbooks. Since Spiess did not treat Rudolf sympathetically, another author, E. Heller, added a third volume, entitled Mathilde oder der Triumph der Tugend über das Laster (1801), in which Mathilde succeeds in rescuing Rudolf from the devil's clutches. The events in this volume, however, are not nearly as exciting. Spiess was a master in thinking up hair-raising situations and then leaving the reader in suspense. He was particularly fond of depicting very erotic scenes, where the hero would try to overcome a maiden's virtue. Usually the hero was successful, but sometimes it took much effort and the use of magic potions. If this brought no favorable result, the hero could always summon the devil to aid him. Similar situations occur in Die zwölf schlafenden Jungfrauen (1795), where we again find a good spirit opposed to the devil. A young knight sets out to rescue twelve lovely maidens, who are bewitched. Only a certain individual can free them from the enchantment. The spirit of St. Gall undertakes to lead the knight to them, but he has a difficult time making the knight follow a straight road, for the devil puts the most attractive temptations in the way.

Guardian spirits who belong to the hero's family are another variation of the spirit motif. Spiess introduces us to one of these in his Der Alte Ueberall und Nirgends (1792). Our sympathies are aroused when we meet the forlorn family spirit of Hildebrandt's Der Ahnherr oder das Gespenst in der Felskluff. This poor, tormented spirit is doomed to wander for centuries until certain conditions are fulfilled. Before he became a spirit, the ghosts of those whom he had wronged haunted him constantly. These scenes are the acme of horror.¹

These spirits were always garbed as either hermits or knights. They appeared most unexpectedly and dramatically. Banquet halls, bedchambers, and burial vaults all assumed a fearful aspect as soon as one of these dread apparitions would appear. More often than not they were enveloped by a blaze of light. In a few instances the spirit was a woman. Isabelle von Wallenrodt's novel, Emma von Ruppın (1794), contained a female spirit. The heroine was imprisoned for three years in the burial vaults of an old castle. During this time, her sole companion was the spirit of her best friend,² who came to visit her only in times of

¹C. Hildebrandt, Der Ahnherr oder das Gespenst in der Felskluff (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1823), I, 71, 81, 140, 165, 192.

²I. von Wallenrodt, Emma von Ruppın, eine Geschichte voll Leiden, Freuden, und Wunder aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert (Qued-

adversity. The spirit who aided the heroine of Drahomira mit dem Schlangenringe was entirely anonymous. She gave Drahomira a ring as a talisman. After Drahomira married, her guardian spirit appeared once more, asked for the ring, and declared that Drahomira would have no more use for it. The motif of the spirit supplying his or her charge with a talisman was a frequent one. Often the talisman was a ring, girdle, sword, hat, book, or spear.¹ Female spirits were always gentle and their approach was heralded by sweet music. They did not congeal the spectator with terror as did the hermit or knight spirits, but seemed very much like real persons.

Nearly all of the novels with supernatural elements discussed thus far have combined the tale of terror and the chivalric romance. In many of them, knightly deeds of valor, descriptions of battles, and tender love scenes outweighed the element of mystery. Some novels written at this time, however, tended in another direction. Authors permitted their imaginations full expression, and the results were stories of the most fantastic sort. These stories might be compared to fairy-tales except that most of them completely lacked the lightness and delicacy peculiar to that literary genre. Benedicte Naubert was probably the only writer who nearly approached the fairy-tale. Velleda, ein Zauberroman (1795) is charmingly imaginative and makes no attempt to include anything rational. A king has nine lovely daughters, whom he gives into the care of Velleda, a sorceress, when war breaks out with the Romans. She changes them into doves and flies with them to Ireland. These girls are blessed with immortality if they renounce all sensual love. Their adventures in Italy form the remainder of the novel. When reading Velleda one involuntarily thinks of the Marchen of Tieck or Novalis. Benedicte Naubert was able to express that same imaginative beauty and wistfulness of mood, which can make the reader fully unconscious, or at least very tolerant, of the utter impossibility of the events of the story. J. F. Albrecht also attempted a story of this type. Ardulf, Othona und Edda oder Die drei Glücklichen (1796) is imaginative enough, but the nationalistic spirit of the author is so evident that the tale does not, in any measure, exert the fairy-

linburg und Leipzig: Jacobäer, 1794), II, 89.

¹Christian Spiess, Das Petermännchen (2d ed.; Prag und Leipzig: Albrecht, 1793), I, 134, 247; Spiess, Der Alte Ueberall und Nirgends (Leipzig: Kleefeld, 1803), III, 97; J. von Voss, Der Nonnenräuber oder die Abtei St. Blasii in Natolien (Berlin: Schmidts Wittwe, 1818), I, 144, 224, 227.

like charm of Naubert's Velleda.¹ The help of a spirit brings happiness to the three young people who despair of ever finding it.² We encounter a guardian spirit again in Alois Gleich's Jetta, die schöne Zauberin oder der Wolfsbrunn (1797). This spirit does not have to forfeit his peace and guard his family as a penance, but is given the privilege of protecting his son from the powerful sorceress, Jetta.³ The sorceress drinks from the magic well at midnight, whereupon she becomes a mad wolf. At dawn, she resumes her normal shape of a beautiful young girl. If she neglects to drink from the well, she first loses her magic powers. The second time she fails to do so, she is bereft of her beauty and eternal youth. The third time, she is sacrificed to whatever fate may befall her. She lives only for twenty years at a time, and then sleeps for twenty years; this continues indefinitely. Jetta is finally destroyed because the desire to wreak vengeance on her escaped lover makes her forget the magic well. While she is a wolf, she kills her lover, but he returns to earth as a spirit and helps his sons bring about the destruction of the sorceress.

The romantic tale of terror which resembled a fairy-tale was by no means as popular as the tale of terror in the style of Christian Spiess and Heinrich Müller. It was, however, a forerunner of the literary Märchen of Romanticism. Romanticists may have borrowed motifs from this literary stratum, for Fouqué, Tieck, and others admitted their acquaintance with the material.

After 1800 there were few novels containing anything truly supernatural. The literary style did not improve, although the supernatural elements were eliminated. Authors still used a feeble style, exaggerated language, and conventional characterizations. The standard types of the brave hero, fainting heroine, and deceitful villain were retained, and the motifs of a secret society, Gothic castle, and discovery of the long-lost heir continued. Some of the most prolific writers of this type of tale of terror were Gottlieb Bertrand, Julius von Voss, Theodor

¹J. F. Albrecht, "Ardulf, Othona und Edda oder die drei Glücklichen," Trümmer der Vergangenheit (Hamburg: Hoffmann, 1796), p. 9: "Ich bin die Tochter eines Deutschen, die Muth zu sterben von ihrem Vater erhielt." Such sentiments occur frequently.

²A similar spirit, or fairy, is the motivating force in Wallenrodt's Prinz Hassan der Hochherzige, bestraft durch Rache und glücklich durch Liebe (Leipzig: Kleefeld, 1796).

³J. Alois Gleich, Jetta, die schöne Zauberin oder der Wolfsbrunn (Wien, 1797), p. 22.

Hildebrand, and Heinrich Müller. Christian Spiess did not neglect this opportunity to increase his popularity. He wrote Die Geheimnisse der alten Egiptier (1798), in which the hero has many mysterious experiences, all apparently supernatural, but really machinations of relatives to obtain his fortune. Die Bergeister (1797) is the same type of narrative; here Spiess uses robbers instead of relatives as the perpetrators of a hoax. This novel is a combination of the robber novel and the tale of terror. The robbers frighten away inquisitive visitors from their stronghold by disguising themselves as spirits. They are generous to the poor and harm only the rich. Finally, the robber chieftain determines to forsake his profession and become an honest man. This is an echo of Rinaldo Rinaldini.

Gottlieb Bertrand was the best imitator of Mrs. Radcliffe's type of narrative. He was able to maintain suspense, introduce various mystifying elements and achieve exciting climaxes. In Der Sarkophag (1805), the hero, Moritz von Wildenberg, has many strange experiences while visiting Berby Castle. He finds in his room mysterious letters and the miniature of a girl he had known in Santo Domingo. When he investigates the vaults of the castle, threatening spirits appear and warn him to leave the building at once. These apparitions are later discovered to be nothing but avaricious monks from a neighboring monastery, who are using this method to drive away the inhabitants of Berby and gain the property for themselves. Bertrand resembles Anne Radcliffe in his effort to build up a continuous series of terrifying events with no hint of final explanation. Gottlieb Bertrand was influenced not only by the English tale of terror, but also by the contemporary robber novel. A band of robbers plays an important part in Die wandernde Jungfrau (1802). A chapter of this narrative is entitled "Ein Rinaldinis Streich." Even without this specific reference, we would recognize in the figure of the robber chieftain, Marc Egosino, the model bandit, Rinaldo Rinaldini. He assumes many disguises, but relies chiefly upon popular superstition to aid him. His headquarters are in a region haunted by a wandering maiden. The inhabitants are overly fearful and superstitious, and Egosino can disguise himself as a spirit and appear anywhere without fear of detection. When Egosino suddenly arises from a sepulcher on a dark, stormy night and confronts the lonely wayfarer, even the reader is tempted to believe that the bandit is a real ghost.

If the reading public wanted excitement, it is not difficult to understand why these tales of terror were so popular. Scenes in which corpses suddenly become alive and arise from their coffins, and in which moaning ghosts haunt the galleries of a

Gothic castle could congeal anyone with terror. A howling storm, windswept corridors, fluttering bats, and dismal groans preceded the entry of the ghost.¹ What reader would not admire the hero who, in spite of all this, would risk his life to unravel the mystery.² After he has proven himself to be so daring, it is only fitting that he turn out to be the heir of a noble family,³ and thus be able to marry the high-born heroine.

Anti-Catholicism was a distinguishing feature of the tale of terror. We have seen that it was not limited to this genre, for nearly all chivalric romances and robber novels included wicked monks among their characters. Johann Ernst Albrecht (pseud. J. A. Stade) contributed to the hostility against Catholicism by his polemical books, Ein Beitrag zur geheimen Geschichte des Klosterlebens (1781), Therese und Edelwald, eine Klostergeschichte (1784), and Skizzen aus dem Klosterleben (1786). A villainous monk and a lustful bishop are important figures in Karl Seidel's Geisterseherin Gräfin Seraphine von Hohenacker (1796-98). Karl Hütter portrayed church officials in the worst possible light in his Pfaffen-, Nonnen-, und Mönchs-Intrigen (1795). Few German novels with an anti-clerical tendency had a monk as the leading character. Matthew Gregory Lewis introduced this feature in England in his novel, The Monk, and from there it spread to France and Germany. The hostile attitude towards the Catholic Church was by no means as prevalent in England as in Germany. Lewis spent some time in Germany and doubtless was acquainted with books of an anti-clerical nature. Certainly he was familiar with Veit

¹Theodor Hildebrand, Die Erscheinungen im Schlosse Morano oder die geheimnisvolle Rache (Berlin: Lüdertz, 1824), II, 96.: "Der Wind umheulte den Thurm . . . ihre Lampe warf nur einen dunkeln und flimmernden Schein von sich, und ihre Sanduhr benachrichtigte sie, das Mitternacht nahe sey . . . dann ertönte ein tiefes Seufzer in der Gallerie."

²Theodor Hildebrand, Das Geisterschloss oder die Auferstehung im Todtengewölbe (Leipzig: Kollmann, 1827), III, 48: "Er erblickt . . . eine Gestalt, mit langem schwarzem Schleier vom Kopf bis zu den Füßen umhüllt. . . ." Julius von Voss, Das Grab der Mutter in Palermo (Berlin: Schmidt's Wittwe, 1818), p. 256.

³G. Bertrand, Der Sarkophag, oder die Geheimnisse des Schlosses Berby (Lüneburg: Wahlstab, 1805), II, 295; J. von Voss, Das Grab der Mutter in Palermo, p. 257; T. Hildebrand, Die Erscheinungen im Schlosse Morano, II, 203; T. Hildebrand, Das Geisterschloss, III, 187.

Weber's novels, in which monks were the deepest-dyed villains. These literary products influenced him to a large extent when he was writing his novel. The sources of The Monk have been widely investigated; a short resumé of the results will show how much Matthew Lewis owed to German sub-literary fiction. In 1903, George Herzfeld published an article entitled "Eine neue Quelle für Lewis' 'Monk,'" ¹ in which he showed that Lewis had obtained the Legend of the Bleeding Nun, Lindenberg Castle, and the contemplated abduction of Agnes from Musäus' tale "Die Entführung."² Otto Ritter, in an article "Studien zu M. G. Lewis' Roman 'Ambrosio or the Monk,'" emphasized the influence of Anne Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho and works of Horace Walpole and Clara Reeves upon Lewis. He also pointed out the fact that the description of Ambrosio's death was taken almost word for word from Veit Weber's Teufelsbeschwörung;³ that the fall of Ambrosio brought about by Mathilda was similar to a situation in Cazotte's Le Diable Amoureux; that the Wandering Jew was analogous to Schiller's Geisterseher;⁴ that the ballad, Alonzo the Brave, was based on Bürger's ballads; and that the conjuring of the Devil was a Faust theme. Ritter did not indicate Lewis' familiarity with Spiess' Petermännchen (1791), which probably supplied Lewis with additional material. In spite of the fact that Müller-Fraureuth declares that Spiess nowhere describes in detail a pact made with

¹George Herzfeld, "Eine neue Quelle für Lewis' 'Monk,'" Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen u. Litteraturen, CIV (1900), 310-12.

²Karl Musäus, Volksmärchen der Deutschen (Gotha, 1787), V, 247-76.

³M. G. Lewis, The Monk (London, 1922), p. 355: "Headlong fell the monk thru' the airy waste: the sharp point of rock received him, and he rolled from precipice to precipice, till, bruised and mangled, he rested on the river's banks. Instantly a violent storm arose: the winds in fury rent up rocks and forests: . . . the rain . . . swelled the stream; the waves overflowed their banks; they reached the spot where Ambrosio lay, and, when they abated, carried with them . . . the corpse of the despairing monk." Cf., Veit Weber, Sagen der Vorzeit, IV, 135 ff.

⁴Contemporaries of Lewis also pointed out the indebtedness of The Monk to Der Geisterseher; the Critical Review, XIX (1797), p. 194, claimed that the chief character was "copied as to the more prominent features from Schiller's incomprehensible Armenian."

the devil,¹ just such a scene does occur in Das Petermännchen,² where Rudolph agrees to let the devil have his soul after the expiration of twelve years. The pact is signed with Rudolph's blood. A similar pact is an important feature of The Monk; the procedure resembles that of the German novel; "He (the devil) struck the iron pen which he held into a vein in the Monk's left hand. It pierced deep and was instantly filled with blood."³

Herzfeld cited L. Wypliel's article on "Ein Schauerroman als Quelle der Ahnfrau,"⁴ in which a comparison is made of an anonymous tale of terror entitled Die blutende Gestalt mit Dolch und Lampe oder die Beschwörung im Schlosse Stern bei Prag, and Grillparzer's Die Ahnfrau. Herzfeld believed that Lewis had plagiarized the German tale of terror, and consequently published "Die eigentliche Quelle von Lewis' 'Monk.'"⁵ Otto Ritter combated this assertion, however, in "Die angebliche Quelle von M. G. Lewis' 'Monk,'"⁶ and sought to prove that Die blutende Gestalt must have been written subsequent to The Monk.⁷ It remained for August Sauer to settle the issue. He compared Friedrich von Oertel's translation of The Monk with the tale of terror and showed that the latter was a plagiarism. In the introduction of his edition of Grillparzer, he stated: "Der deutsche Roman ist nichts weiter als die Bearbeitung einiger Kapitel aus dem englischen Schauerroman, Ambrosio or The Monk."⁸

Walter Scott characterized The Monk as "a romance in the German taste," and certainly it was a collection of material from the most varied German sources. August Wilhelm Schlegel reviewed Lewis' novel in the Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung, no.

¹C. Müller-Fraureuth, Die Ritter-und Räuberromane (Halle, 1894), p. 61.

²C. H. Spiess, Das Petermännchen, II, 194.

³M. G. Lewis, p. 350.

⁴L. Wypliel, "Ein Schauerroman als Quelle der Ahnfrau," Euphorion, VII (1900), pp. 725-58.

⁵G. Herzfeld, "Die eigentliche Quelle von Lewis' 'Monk,'" Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, CXI (1903), pp. 316-323.

⁶Otto Ritter, "Die angebliche Quelle von M. G. Lewis' 'Monk,'" ibid., CXIII (1904), pp. 56-65.

⁷Herzfeld replied to this challenge with "Noch einmal die Quelle des 'Monk,'" ibid., CXV (1905), pp. 70-73.

⁸Grillparzers sämtliche Werke, ed. August Sauer (Wien, 1909), I, p. L.

157 (1798), pointing out the enormous amount of material Lewis had borrowed:

"Die englischen Kunstrichter haben nicht ermangelt, diese Aehnlichkeit mit gewissen deutschen Dolch-und Geisterdichtungen zu bewerken, von denen sich doch der Mönch durch Klarheit der Darstellung vortheilhaft unterscheidet, und ihn als Zögling of the wild German School anzusehen. Diese Herren erfahren meistens nur das, was in den unteren Regionen unserer Litteratur vorgeht, und haben sich danach einen allgemeinen Begriff von ihr gemacht."¹

Lewis obtained the idea of assigning the leading role of his novel to a monk from Monvel's drama Les Victimes Cloîtrées (1791). The theme of the depraved and villainous monk was not new to German and French literature, although clerical figures were seldom major characters. Lewis doubtless was also familiar with the monks of German romances of chivalry who were generally princes of the Church, engaged in the basest crimes. We remember the monk as the ally of some evil woman, who seeks to bring about the downfall of the virtuous German knight. Lewis' Monk, an abbot of the Capuchin monastery in Madrid, is known as the "Holy Man." The adoration accorded him by the women of the city makes him proud and conceited. Lucifer easily ensnares him, and thus Ambrosio becomes the murderer of his mother, then the seducer and murderer of his sister. Fiction readers found him such a fascinating figure that immediately other novels appeared with monks as chief characters.² The English novel was also extremely popular in Germany, where many translations and variations were published. August Sauer has included among this list of German publications of the Monk an anonymous novel, Der Mönch oder die siegende Tugend (1806), but this has little similarity with the English novel. The only apparent English influence is the description of a Gothic castle.³ The monk referred to in the title

¹August Wilhelm von Schlegels sämtliche Werke, ed. Eduard Böcking (Leipzig, 1847), XI, 274.

²Edith Birkhead, p. 75: "The New Monk by R. S. Esq.; The Monk of Madrid by George Moore; The Bloody Monk of Udolpho by T. J. Horsley-Curties; Manfroni, the One-handed Monk by J. J."

³Der Mönch oder die siegende Tugend (Hamburg und Altona, 1810), p. 123 f.: "Es rührte noch aus den alten Ritterzeiten her und aus den vielen unterirdischen Gängen zu schliessen, schien es der Sitz eines Raubritters zu seyn . . . an der Morgenseite erhob sich ein Thurm von kühner gothischer Bauart ganz der Barberey des Zeitalters seiner Entstehung angemessen."

is a friend of the hero, whom he rescues from certain death. There are also two wicked monks, one of whom seizes the heroine, imprisons her in his monastery, and demands that she yield herself to him. This monk, however, could just as well be a copy of a cleric in a romance of chivalry; there is no indication that Lewis' Ambrosio served as the model. Another monk in the novel is ruled by an overwhelming desire for power.¹ He reminds us of the prelates of Veit Weber's narratives. Both these monks, however, are minor characters and have little influence upon the development of the plot. The monk figuring in Heinrich Müller's Vasco und Isabella oder der Gross-Inquisitor (1819) is undoubtedly a counterpart of Ambrosio. He, too, is an ambitious, vainglorious man. He seduces a maiden of his own family and denounces his son. He becomes a member of the Inquisition and his power, therefore, is limited. In order to enrich himself, he kills his brother, poisons all the accomplices, and finally murders his uncle, a rich abbot. Müller made no attempt to emulate Lewis in anything but this characterization. Nothing supernatural occurs, and the only motif borrowed from the conventional tale of terror is the discovery of a long-lost son.

As in the robber novel, the German tale of terror had a greater effect upon the French genre than upon the English. Many of the French novels showing German influence were translated into the German soon after publication and were placed in loan-libraries. The Chevaliers du Cygne (1795) by Félicité Ducret, comtesse de Genlis, is an example of this. The novel is more like a German chivalric romance, however, than a tale of terror. It contains only one supernatural incident, and that is borrowed from German literature.² This is the legend of the bleeding nun.

¹Ibid., p. 106: ". . . während er unermüdet neue Ränke schmiedete, hielten selbst kluge Männer . . . ihn für ein Muster der Frömmigkeit und klösterlichen Zucht. Seine Seele samt ihrer Hülle waren so beschaffen, dass selbst eine Gesellschaft Banditen Bedenken getragen hätte ihn vierundzwanzig Stunden in ihrer Mitte zu dulden."

²Mme. de Genlis, Die Schwanenritter, eine Kunde der Vorwelt, trans. from the French (Hamburg: Fauche, 1796), I, 57: "Aber wer kann das Entsetzen ausdrücken, das Grausen, das ihn ergriff, als er eine schreckliche Todtengestalt erblickte. Er sah ein scheusliches mit Blut bedeckte Gerippe, das sich mit dumpfen Stöhnen und blutige Spuren hinter sich zurücklassen, langsam fort bewegte . . . und da es durch die Thür schritt, in die Lüfte verschwand."

In later editions, Mme. de Genlis made the ghost merely a figment of the hero's imagination. She probably did this because of the increasing tendency in England and Germany to explain away the supernatural events. The rest of the novel is a typical chivalric romance, containing lengthy descriptions of knightly jousts, medieval battles, and court receptions. German influence is also apparent in the historical treatment. De Genlis uses footnotes with source references in the same fashion as Veit Weber and Benedicte Naubert.

Another author of the historical tale of terror was Mme. Cottin. Her Mathilde, ou mémoires tirés de l'histoire des croisades (1805) is similar to Naubert's Walter von Montbarry or Spiess' Die Löwenritter. Action is confined to the Holy Land, where Richard the Lion-hearted is engaged in war against Saladin. Richard is not the hero of the story, but rather Corradin, Saladin's brother. Corradin falls in love with Mathilde, the beautiful sister of Richard. The Saracen has a most noble character, and a happy union with Mathilde is the reward of his generosity and bravery. The novel is prefaced with a historical resumé of the Crusades.

Most French authors could read German and English tales of terror in the original, but for those who could not, the Bibliothèque universelle des romans provided easy means to become acquainted with foreign fiction. In it, there were lengthy synopses of German novels, although the translators were sometimes accredited as the real authors. Naubert's Hermann von Unna appeared in the Nouvelle bibliothèque in 1798, and was reviewed with high praise.¹ Christian Spiess was also represented in this series by Olivia Amenuti, a portion of his Biographien der Selbstmörder (1785).² It was a tale of terror with a medieval setting. The knight, Willibald, rescues a beautiful Italian girl from the Sultan. He marries her and they go to Germany to live in his lonely castle, surrounded by "des forêts sombres et quelquefois impénétrables l'environnoient." Such descriptions create an atmosphere of horror and mystery and prepare the reader for the appearance of the ghosts of Olivia's two murdered husbands. The motif of the lecherous monk is also included in the novel. In the French tale of terror, monks and prelates are accorded no

¹B. Naubert, "Herman d'Unna ou aventure arrivées au commencement du quinzième siècle," Nouvelle bibliothèque universelle des romans, trans. G. de Bock (Paris, 1798), IV, 171.

²H. Spiess, "Olivia Amenuti," Nouvelle bibliothèque universelle des romans, trans. M. Lebaume (Paris, 1797), VI, 177.

better treatment than their German and English brothers. The theme had already been introduced into French literature earlier in the century. An account of a series of seductions and assassinations of young girls and nuns by monks was the material of Intrigues Monastiques ou l'amour encapuchonné, published anonymously at the Hague in 1739. Diderot's La religieuse, written in 1760 and published in 1796, was the story of a maiden forced to enter a convent and take vows. The same theme occurred in Monvel's Les victimes oloitrées (1791) and Marsollier's Camille ou le souterrain (1791). Both German and English writers had been influenced by this tendency towards anti-Catholicism in French literature. The characteristic was more marked in Germany and France than in England, until the publication of The Monk gave the tendency an added impetus.

The English tale of terror was widely imitated in France; the inspiration provided by German literature, however, should not be disregarded. Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen was translated into French in 1792, and must have influenced such authors as Mme. de Genlis and Mme. Cottin. The works of Benedicte Naubert and C. Spiess were also well known. Particularly such tales of terror as Das Petermännchen and Die zwölf schlafenden Jungfrauen were very popular. The motifs of guiding spirits, demons, and magic utensils, such as hats, mirrors, wands, were present in these and many other German novels known to French writers. These motifs of a purely supernatural type were not as common in English as in German fiction. There was nothing in the English literature of the period to compare with the fairy-tale type of story produced by Naubert and Gleich. Yet we encounter this sort of narrative among French productions. Erwina, oder Zauber, Minne und Mutterliebe is a German translation of one of the Contes gothiques. The hero of the story is the knight, Athulph, who falls in love with Erwina, daughter of a sorceress. Athulph's mother tells him that the sorceress is in league with the devil, and will not permit him to marry Erwina. The sorceress is able to make roses grow in the snow, erect castles over night, disappear suddenly into thin air, and do many other wonderful things. She renounces her magical powers, however, to further the happiness of her daughter. The narrative has a medieval setting, but everything seems fantastic and unreal. It has the charming lilt of a real fairy-tale, and seems closely akin to such stories as Naubert's Velleda or Gleich's Jetta, die Zauberin.

The French tale of terror introduced nothing new to the genre, but was merely a replica of German and English products. Miss Killen has classified François Ducray-Duminil as the author of tales of terror in the style of Anne Radcliffe, but in reality,

the mysterious or apparently supernatural occurred very rarely in his works.¹ The only motifs he used characteristic of the tale of terror, were the unknown identity of hero or heroine, imprisonment of wife by a cruel husband, and occasionally descriptions of Gothic ruins. Any of these motifs could have come from German as well as from English sources. We have seen that Victor ou l'enfant de la forêt (1796) was primarily the result of the contemporary German robber-novel. Coelina ou l'enfant du mystère (1798) is an exceedingly rational narrative about a girl cast out by her friends when the secret of her birth is discovered. Coelina's mother is imprisoned for years in the subterranean vaults of an old castle. At first the reader is led to believe that the ruins are inhabited by a real ghost.² Ducray-Duminil did not indulge, however, in the habit of building up and maintaining suspense. He seldom included descriptions of Gothic castles. In Paul ou la ferme abandonnée (1799), he says that the castle belonging to one of the characters has no significance. He is content to let other novelists portray scenes of Gothic ruin.³

The influence of the German tale of terror was reflected not only in its effect upon French and English literature, but also in the appropriation of many of its conventional motifs by the romanticists. E. T. A. Hoffmann's Elixiere des Teufels (1816) was manifestly inspired by products of the terror school. The idea of a double existence was the basic motif. In it we find other motifs, such as incest, a wicked monk, supernatural apparitions, and the elixir of life, which were universally present in the tale of terror. Hoffmann was fond of Cramer's novels when he was a youth,⁴ and he was probably familiar with the works of other novelists of the period. The short preface of Elixiere des Teufels states that the material for the narrative was found in an old manuscript preserved in a Capuchin monastery. Certainly Hoffmann borrowed this device from his predecessors. Grillparzer

¹Alice Killen, Le roman "terrifiant" ou roman "noir" de Walpole à Anne Radcliffe et son influence sur la littérature française jusqu'en 1840 (Paris, 1915), p. 131.

²F. Ducray-Duminil, Cölina oder das Kind des Geheimnisses, trans. F. von Oertel (Leipzig und Sorau: Beygang und Ackermann, 1800), II, 248.

³F. Ducray-Duminil, Paul oder der verlassene Meierhof, trans. F. von Oertel (Leipzig und Sorau: Beygang und Ackermann, 1803), I, 235.

⁴Max Pirker, "E. T. A. Hoffmann im persönlichen und brieflichen Verkehr," Euphorien, XXI (1914), pp. 396-411.

was also indebted to the horrific school. The plot of his Ahnfrau is a good example of this. August Sauer has pointed out the material Grillparzer took over from the tale of terror.¹ The drama contains the motifs of incest, robbers, a family spectre, and a haunted castle. Klinger's Die Kettenträger is another ghost-haunted narrative. There has been some discussion as to whether Klinger is the real author, but, in any event, the novel shows the influence of the tale of terror.² Ludwig Tieck had little praise for such authors as Cramer or Zschokke, but at the beginning of his career, he himself tried his hand at this "popular" fiction. Tieck completed Rambach's Die eiserne Maske, ein Schauerroman (1792). The style used by Tieck in some of his dramas reminds us of the exaggerated language and diction of the foregoing novels. An example is found in Kaiser Octavianus, where the hero says that he would like to drown in his tears: "Den Fluten gleich, die Dämme und Häuser niederstürzen, erfließen sie aus seinem vollgepressten Busen."³ The Märchen of Tieck and Novalis are faintly reminiscent of the supernatural tales of Naubert. Naubert's stories contain no metaphysical element, whereas those of the romanticists are just as fantastic, but have no philosophical implications.

The influence of the school of terror, initiated by such authors as Spiess, Cramer, Zschokke, and Vulpius, continued far into the nineteenth century. As late as the forties, novels of the terror type were being written. Complete new editions of earlier authors were published, especially by the firm of Friedrich Färsst in Nordhausen. Gottfried Basse in Quedlinburg was also responsible for the continued appearance of chivalric romances, robber novels, and tales of terror. Mass production did not wane until 1845. Even today, the tale of terror survives in the type of fiction that is to be found in drug-store loan libraries. Sensational events, problems of mysterious identity, and the supernatural will probably continue to hold a strong attraction for fiction readers. Until this interest ceases to exist, we shall always have the tale of terror.

¹Grillparzers sämtliche Werke, ed. A. Sauer. See Introduction.

²Hanna Hellmann, "Der Kettenträger, ein Roman von Klinger," Euphorion, XXIV (1922), pp. 570-75.

³Müller-Fraureuth, p. 90.

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- . "Eine neue Quelle für Lewis 'Monk,'" Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen, CIV (1900), 310-312.
- . "Noch einmal die Quelle des 'Monk,'" Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen, CXV (1905), 70-73.
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- Komorzynski, Egon von. "Die Ahnfrau und die Wiener Volksdramatik," Euphorion, IX (1902), 350-356.
- Ritter, Otto. "Studien zu M. G. Lewis Roman 'Ambrosio or the Monk,'" Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen, CXI (1903), 106-122.
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- Wyplel, L. "Ein Schauerroman als Quelle der Ahnfrau," Euphorion, VII (1900), 725-758.

APPENDIX

Robber Novels, Chivalric Romances, and Tales of Terror in The Lincke Collection

The Lincke Collection is a Leipzig loan-library purchased by the University of Chicago. It contains eighteen thousand volumes of sub-literary fiction of the period from 1785 to 1850. The library includes approximately four-hundred robber novels, chivalric romances, and tales of terror, which are the works of German authors and translations of foreign novels. The following is a bibliography of these novels. The titles marked with an asterisk are of books used for the dissertation, but which do not belong to the collection.

Novels by German Authors

- Ahlefeld, Charlotte von. Der Bote von Jerusalem. Ein Ritterroman. Altona: Hammerich, 1821.
- . . Der Mohrenknaube oder die Wallfahrt nach dem Montserrak. Altona: Hammerich, 1821.
- . . Die Sicilianerin oder das Liebespfand. Eine romantische Erzählung aus der Ritterzeit. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.
- Albiny, J. Heinrich von Lindenhorst oder die erfüllte Wahrsagung. Ritter-, Pfaffen-, und Geistergeschichte. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
- . . Herzlande von Rappolstein oder die Verbrecherin aus Eifersucht. Das Strafgericht und der Reinstainer. Rittergeschichten aus dem Mittelalter. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
- . . Marko oder das Opfer der Treue. Romantische Geschichte aus dem Mittelalter. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
- . . Der Zwerg vom Berge oder die Spukgeister im Zauber-
schlosse. Eine nordische Sage aus der Vorzeit. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825.
- Albrecht, Karl (Theophil Albrecht Heidemann). Bilder der Vorwelt. Leipzig: Schwickert, 1796.
- . . Maria de Lucca, Edle von Parma, Ein Opfer der Inquisition. 2 Teile. Altona: Bechtold, 1801.
- . . Trümmer der Vergangenheit aus ihren Ruinen ans Licht gebracht. Hamburg: Hoffmann, 1796.
- Alvensleben, L. von. Der Geisterjäger von der O'Hara Familie. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Kayser, 1833.
- Aniello, Sebastien. Burg Löwenstein oder der Sturz der Bundesritter von der eisernen Krone. Rittergeschichte aus den Zeiten der Vehme. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1828.
- . . Carlo Endimiro oder die furchtbaren Seeräuber auf dem mittelländischen Meere und in den afrikanischen Gewässern. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827.
- . . Prinz Hussein, der Gefesselte oder die furchtbare Türkenschlacht. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827.

Aniello, Sebastien. Rebellino oder die furchtbaren Räuberbanden in den Apenninen und Calabriens Gebirgen. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827.

Asch, Ferdinand. Die Nonne. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825.

Baczko, Ludwig von. Geschichte Paolo Pennalosa, eines Klosterbrüders oder es wird eine ewige Vergeltung seyn. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1821.

_____. Das Kloster zu Vallombroso. 2 Teile. Königsberg: Nicolovius, 1805.

Barda, J. H. (J. H. Boeckel). Carlo von Ortobello oder der furchtbare Bund des unterirdischen Todtengewölbes. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1829.

_____. Don Carlo Olivaro, der Gefangene unter Räubern oder Schreckensszenen aus dem Leben des Räuberhauptmanns Morosini. 2 Teile. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1834.

_____. Edmund von Geierstein oder die Rächer im Schauerthale, aus den Zeiten des Vehmgerichts. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827.

_____. Der Findling in der Löwengrube oder die mitternächtliche Schauderthat. Ein historisch-romantische Rittergemälde aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge. 4 Bände. Meissen: Goedsche, 1834.

Bartels, Friedrich. Der Todten-Ritter oder das Bündnis des Brudermörders. Eine Bundesgeschichte. 2 Teile. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1832.

_____. Der geheimnisvolle Unbekannte oder die Brüder von Neapel. Eine Seeräubergeschichte. 2 Teile. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1837.

Bertrand, Gottlieb. Das Geheimnis. 2 Teile. Hamburg: Nestler, 1803.

_____. Pugatschew, der furchtbare Rebell. 2 Teile. Wölffenbüttel: Albrecht, 1807.

_____. Der Sarkophag oder die Geheimnisse des Schlosses Berby. 2 Teile. Lüneburg: Wahlstab, 1805.

_____. Die wandernde Jungfrau. Ein Seitenstück zum unbekannten Wanderer. 2 Teile. Braunschweig: Schröder, 1802.

Bornschein, J. E. D. Moritz Graf von Portokar oder zwei Jahre aus dem Leben eines Geistersehers. 2 Teile. Meissen: Erbstein, 1800.

_____. Das Nachtmahl der Verzweiflung. Aus den hinterlassenen Papieren der Aebtissin des Klosters zu Marienzelle. 2 Teile. 3te Auflage. Erfurt: Müller, 1816.

Bouterwek, Friedrich. Almusa, der Sultansohn. Ein Roman aus der Geisterwelt nach hinterlassenen Papieren des Grafen Donamar. Bremen: Wilmans, 1801.

Cramer, Karl Gottlob. Adolph der Kühne, Raugraf von Dassel. 3 Teile. Weissenfels und Prag: Severin, 1792.

_____. Der deutsche Alcibiades. 3 Teile. 2te Auflage. Weissenfels und Leipzig: Severin, 1792.

_____. Hasper a Spada. Eine Sage aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert. 2 Teile. 2te Auflage. Leipzig: Fleischer, 1794.

_____. Julius der Verworfene. 2 Teile. Arnstadt und Rudolstadt: Langbein und Klüger, 1802.

_____. Leben und Thaten des edlen Herrn Kix von Kaxburg. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Fleischer, 1802.

Elbing, Julius. Clara von Pappenheim oder die nächtlichen Erscheinungen im Schlosse Waldburg. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Rein, 1828.

Eremita, Julius. Die Ruinen des Bergschlosses Cesarini. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.

Falckh, J. Dagobert von Gräffenstein oder der blutige Kampf in Nordlands eisigen Gauen. Ritter- und Räubergeschichte aus dem Mittelalter. Mannheim: Löffler, 1820.

_____. Don Carlos de Caostro oder die Schrecken der Vergeltung. Eine spannende Inquisitionsgeschichte. Mannheim: Löffler, 1829.

_____. Graf Conrad von Worms oder der Sturm auf dem Rheine. Ritterroman. Mannheim: Löffler, 1827.

_____. Gunhilde die Wilde oder das Waldkapellchen im Hubthale am Rheine. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Kollman, 1827.

_____. Hugo von Wulferdingen oder die Zerstörung der Teufelsburg. Eine Rittergeschichte aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge. Mannheim: Löffler, 1825.

_____. Ottur von Waldburg, der Templer. Ritterroman aus dem ersten Zehntheil des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts. 2 Teile. Mannheim: Löffler, 1827.

_____. Ritter Raimunds Fahrten, Abenteuer und Schicksale oder der heilige Bund im Felsthale. Eine Rittergeschichte aus den Zeiten König Artus und der Tafelrunde. Mannheim: Löffler, 1825.

_____. Die Schauerburg oder Abenteuer und Thaten des Reichsassen und semperfreien Grafen Wunibald von Altenrothenburg als Adelschalk. Ritter- und Geistergeschichte aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge. 3 Bände. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1825.

Falckh, J. Schicksale der Familie Veits von Helmenrod. Eine wahre Geschichte des zwölften Jahrhunderts. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1822.

_____. Ulrich von Löwenrode, Freigraf der heiligen Vehme oder das Blutbad in der Todtenschlucht. Eine Ritter- und Geistergeschichte aus dem Mittelalter. Mannheim: Löffler, 1825.

Gerhardt, H. Der Ahnenfluch oder Manfried und Kunibald. Eine Sage aus den grauesten Zeiten des deutschen Ritterthums. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1830.

Gersdorff, Wilhelmine von. Churfürst Friedrich der Fünfte von der Pfalz, König von Böhmen, und seine Getreuen. Leipzig: Laufer, 1823.

_____. Der Eichwald oder die Ruinen der Oedenburg. 2 Teile. Brunn: Trassler, 1819.

_____. Graf Ernst von Mannsfeld und seine Zeitgenossen. Seitenstück zu Friedrich den Fünften. Leipzig: Laufer, 1825.

_____. Jacobine oder der Ritter des Geheimnisses. Ein historischer Roman nach dem Englischen des Walter Scotts, 2 Bände. Leipzig: Laufer, 1822.

Gleich, Jos. Alois (Ludwig Dellarosa). Amalie von Gurgau oder Schauerszenen in unterirdischen Klüften. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1840.

_____. Azzo von Khenring oder das Gericht der Todtenritter auf dem Riederberge. Wunder- und Schauergeschichte aus den Zeiten des Markgrafen von Oesterreich, Ernst des Tapfern. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1842.

_____. Bellido Dolfos und seine Freunde oder das Wiedersehen am Grabe. 2 Teile. Krems: Moesti, 1804.

_____. Dunkan der Höllendrache oder die gespenstische Felsenmutter auf Gutenstein. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1842.

_____. Ferro Ferrini oder der Brudermord. Räubergemälde. 2 Bände. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1837.

_____. Fridolin von Eisenfels oder die Eulenberg, eine Sage aus den Wunderzeiten der Vorwelt. Wien: Haas, 1797.

_____. Jetta, die schöne Zauberin oder der Wolfsbrunnen. Eine Geistergeschichte. Wien: Haas, 1797.

_____. Die Nympe von Teplitz oder die Geisterglocke im Räuberthume zu Riesenberg. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1841.

_____. Radomar der Leopard, Bundeshaupt der Flammenritter oder der Todtentanz im Wienerwalde. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1842.

- Gleich, Jos. Alois (Ludwig Dellarosa). Die versteinerten Schwestern oder das schwarze Gespenst auf dem Bergschlosse Trosky. Wien: 1843.
- Günther, Florian. Aniello, der Bund des Ringes oder der blonde Bandit. Berlin: Lüderitz, 1826.
- Häberlin, Karl L. (Christian Mandien, Niedmann und Niemand). Gundobald oder die Rächer mit den schwarzen Waffen. Rittergemälde aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge und des Vehmgerichts. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825.
- _____. Die Kaisermörder. Historisches und romantisches Gemälde aus dem Anfange des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1826.
- Hall, J. van der. Ritter Paladour von dem blutigen Kreuze oder die Waldenser in Frankreich im zwölften Jahrhundert. 2 Teile. Meissen: Goedsche, 1827.
- _____. Ritter Trautwangen oder die Zigeuner in Deutschland zur Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges. 2 Teile. Meissen: Goedsche, 1827.
- Hildebrandt, Andreas Christoph. Agatha oder der Eidschwur. Eine Klostergeschichte. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825.
- _____. Der Ahnherr oder das Gespenst in der Felskluft. Ritter- und Geistergeschichte. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1823.
- _____. Berthold von der Nidda oder die Horde im Schwarzwalde. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Kollman, 1826.
- _____. Brömser von Rüdesheim oder die Todtenmahnung. Ritterroman aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1820.
- _____. Die Burg Helfenstein oder das feurige Racheschwert. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1819.
- _____. Fedor und Athanasia oder die Schreckensnächte in den Qualgefängnissen der sieben Thürme zu Constantinopel. Ein Schaudergemälde aus dem gegenwärtigen Freiheitskriege der Griechen. 4 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1822.
- _____. Fürst Scanderbeg, der Unüberwindliche, oder der furchtbare Aufstand der Albanier gegen den Sultan Amureth. Ein Gräuel- und Schreckensgemälde aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1828.
- _____. Die Geheimen des Bundes. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1818.
- _____. Die Geister der Schauerhöhle oder das Wunderblümchen. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1822.

Hildebrandt, Andreas Christoph. Die Gemächer des Unglücks oder der Geprüfte. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.

_____. Die heilige Eiche. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1823.

_____. Heinrich der Vogelsteller und die Hunnen. Ein historisch-romantisches Gemälde aus dem zehnten Jahrhundert. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1826.

_____. Das Karthäuserkloster oder Theodora, die Geprüfte. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1837.

_____. Der Klausner im Schwarzwalde. Ritterroman aus dem elften Jahrhundert. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.

_____. Rollino, der furchtbare Räuberhauptmann in den Apenninischen Felsklüften. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.

_____. Saladin, Sultan von Aegypten oder die deutschen Kreuzzüge in der Gefangenschaft der Saracenen. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827.

_____. Die Todtenhügel. Ein Schaudergemälde aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1823.

_____. Tonni oder das Zigeunermädchen. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825.

_____. Die Ursulinerinnen oder das Geständnis in der Todesstunde. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.

Hildebrandt, Theodor. Abenteuer des Grafen von Hohenstein. Eine alte Rittergeschichte nach neuer Manier. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1826.

_____. Abenteuer im Schlosse Brück. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1824.

_____. Der Brillant oder die Räuberhöhle im Schwarzwalde. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1826.

_____. Die Doppellehe oder das Gespenst zu Reichenstein. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollman, 1826.

_____. Die Erscheinungen im Schlosse Morano oder die geheimnisvolle Rache. Ein italienischer Roman. 2 Teile. Berlin: Läderitz, 1824.

_____. Die geheimnisvollen Schlösser oder der Geist des Ermordeten. Ein spanischer Roman. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1829.

_____. Das Geisterschloss oder die Auferstehung im Todten-
gewölbe. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1827.

Hildebrand, Theodor. Marie oder das eifersüchtige Gespenst.
3 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1827.

_____. Mord und Rache oder das blutige Haupt des Brautvater,
als Hochzeitgeschenk. Ein Roman aus den Ritterzeiten.
2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1825.

_____. Der Nebenbuhler oder die Schrecken im Schaudergewölbe.
2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1826.

_____. Das unterirdische Felsengemach oder die Männer des
Schreckens. 2 Teile. Berlin: Lüdewitz, 1827.

_____. Der Vampyr oder die Todtenbraut. 2 Teile. Leipzig:
Kollmann, 1828.

Jördens, Gustav. Lanzelot vom See. Rittergeschichte aus den
Zeiten der Tafelrunde. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann,
1822.

Kronhelm, H. Alarcos und Zeduny oder die Grotte im Thale von
Kythära. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Glück, 1830.

_____. Fugace oder die Abentheuer im Schlosse Sarviedro.
Eine romantische Räubergeschichte. 2 Bände.
Braunschweig: Meyer, 1827.

_____. Palma, ein romantisches Gemälde der Vorzeit. 2 Bände.
Braunschweig: Meyer, 1826.

_____. Schloss Glenton oder die Söhne der Nacht. 2 Bände.
Braunschweig: Meyer, 1827.

Leibrock, August. Gonzalvo, Räuber und Zeitgenosse Aranzos.
3 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1820.

_____. Hakkam. Historisches Schaudergemälde aus den Zeiten
der Mauren in Spanien. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1821.

_____. Marmorino, der edle Bandit. Eine abentheuerliche
Geschichte. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1827.

_____. Quorato Orsini, der grosse Räuberhauptmann. 2 Teile.
Leipzig: Kollmann, 1826.

_____. Ritter Wolf oder Brudermord und Rache. Eine Ritter-
geschichte aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert. Nordhausen:
Fürst, 1835.

_____. Die verrufene Kloster-Ruine in Valencia. 2 Teile.
Leipzig: Kollmann, 1842.

Lindau, Wilhelm Adolf. Die Gefangenen. Rodrigo und Nunila.
Zwei Rittergeschichten und eine Novelle, die Einsiedlerin.
Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1812.

_____. Die weisse Frau. Eine Geschichte aus der Ritterzeit,
nach dem Französischen. 3 Bände. Leipzig: Hinrichs,
1811.

- Marsch, Emanuel. Der Thurm zu Raucheneck oder der Talisman.
Frey nach dem Französischen. Wien und Prag: Haas, 1819.
- Morgenroth, Johann. Peter Graf von Provence oder der Ritter mit
den silbernen Schlüsseln. Ein historisches Gemälde aus
dem sechszehnten Jahrhundert. Leipzig: Sthring, 1829.
- Moser, F. W. Der Kastellan. Geschichte aus dem Mittelalter.
2 Teile. Merseburg: Sonntag, 1823.
- Mühlböck, Rudolph. Astro von Sondowall oder die Schauerhöhle.
Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1841.
- _____. Gabriele, die Todtenbraut oder das Bekenntnis in der
Ahnengruft. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck,
1841.
- _____. Hadamar von Chuenringen oder die Gründung des Klosters
Zwettl in Unterösterreich. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck;
Prag: Dirnböck, 1840.
- _____. Die Teufelsbrücke bei Zwettl oder Heinrich von Seeburg.
2 Teile. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1840.
- Müller, Gottlieb. Das Alpen-Mädchen oder die wunderbare Leuchte.
Wien: Peter Rehms sel. Wittwe, 1804.
- Müller, Heinrich August. Der Bandit in Rom oder die schreckliche
Verwechslung. 3 Bände. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse,
1820.
- _____. Benno von Rabeneck oder das warnende Gerippe im
Brautgemach. Eine Rittergeschichte aus dem dreizehnten
Jahrhundert. 2 Bände. 2te Auflage. Quedlinburg und
Leipzig: Basse, 1831.
- _____. Das Blutschwert auf der Gerosburg oder die strafenden
Geister. Rittergeschichte aus dem dreizehnten Jahr-
hundert. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1823.
- _____. Boja, das schöne Räubermädchen oder der grosse Teufel.
3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1825.
- _____. Die Corsarenbeute oder Fatime. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg
und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.
- _____. Dedo von Adlerstein, der wilde Ritter oder der Mädchen-
raub. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1818.
- _____. Don Juan und Diego oder Schicksale zweier Spanier
während der letzten Revolutionsepoche. Ein Schauergemälde.
Hamburg und Altona: Vollmer, 1810.
- _____. Graf Albert von Reinstein oder das heimliche Gericht
der Teufelsmauer. Rittergeschichte aus den Zeiten der
Vehme. 3 Bände. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1819.
- _____. Der Geächtete oder Pfaffenmord und Rache. Ein Roman
aus der Vorzeit. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig:
Basse, 1825.

- Müller, Heinrich August. Das Geldbde. Roman aus der Vorzeit.
3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
- _____ . Hermann von der Heideburg oder der Eremit in der
Waldklaus. Rittergeschichte. Quedlinburg und Leipzig:
Basse, 1822.
- _____ . Ina, das geraubte Mädchen aus Algier oder schreckliche
Schicksale und Abenteuer eines jungen Spaniers. 2 Teile.
Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1813.
- _____ . Johann von Schwaben oder die Ermordung des Kaisers
Albrecht. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1829.
- _____ . Johanna, die Heldin der Bluthochzeit. 3 Teile.
Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
- _____ . Julius Wartberg oder die dunkeln Wege des Geschicks.
2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1818.
- _____ . Das Kloster Mariaheim oder Herrmann von Wolfsburg.
2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.
- _____ . Lady Glami oder der Kerker von Stirling. Roman nach
Walter Scott. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg: Basse, 1823.
- _____ . Die Löwenburg oder die Wunder des Heiligenbildes.
3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1822.
- _____ . Das Opfer der Rache oder der Giftbecher. Eine
Geschichte aus der Vorzeit. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und
Leipzig: Basse, 1823.
- _____ . Paulowna oder das unglückliche Mädchen im Todtengewölbe
unter dem brennenden Moskau. Ein Schaudergemälde.
3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1817.
- _____ . Prinz Clito der Verfolgte oder Bruderkrieg. 3 Teile.
Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1826.
- _____ . Die Rächenden oder die schwarzen Gemächer des Inquisi-
tionskerkers zu Toledo. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und
Leipzig: Basse, 1821.
- _____ . Ritter Golo, der Grausame oder die Büssende in der
Felsengruft. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse,
1821.
- _____ . Das Sarazenenschwert. Ritterroman aus den Zeiten
der Kreuzzüge. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse,
1820.
- _____ . Tremnor, der Zerstörer des Druidenreichs. Ein Roman
nach Walter Scott von H. M. 3 Teile. Quedlinburg und
Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
- _____ . Udo von Horstenburg oder Vaternord und Rache. Ritter-
geschichte aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert. 3 Teile.
Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.

Müller, Heinrich August. Vasco und Isabella oder der Gross-Inquisitor. Schaudergeschichte aus Spaniens furchtbaren Inquisitionsgericht. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1819.

_____. Die Verunglückten oder die Schreckenstunde um Mitternacht. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1819.

Müller, Joh. Gott. Markoff, der Seelenfänger oder des neunfachen Mörders Erlösung aus den Banden der Unterirdischen. Räuber- und Geistergeschichte. 2 Teile. Gera: Heinsius, 1839.

Naubert, Benedicte. Amalgunde, Königin von Italien oder das Märchen von der Wunderquelle. Leipzig: Weygand, 1787.

_____. Attilas Schwerdt oder die Azimuntinerinnen. Naumburg: Wild, 1808.

_____. Edwy und Elgiva oder die Wunder des heiligen Dunstran. Leipzig: Weygand, 1791.

_____. Friedrich der siegreiche Churfürst von der Pfalz. Der Marc Aurel des Mittelalters. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Weygand, 1796.

_____. Geschichte der Gräfin Thekla von Thurm oder Szenen aus dem dreissigjährigen Kriege. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Weygand, 1788.

_____. Heinrich von Plauen und seine Neffen, Ritter des deutschen Ordens. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Weygand, 1793.

_____. Hermann von Unna. Eine Geschichte aus den Zeiten des Vehmgerichts. Leipzig: Weygand, 1788.

_____. Konradin von Schwaben oder Geschichte des unglücklichen Enkels Kaiser Friedrichs des Zweyten. Leipzig: Weygand, 1788.

_____. Rosalba. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1818.

_____. Velleda. Ein Zauberroman. Leipzig: Schäfer, 1795.

_____. Walter von Montbarry, Grossmeister des Tempelordens. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Weygand, 1786.

_____. Walter von Stadion oder Geschichte Herzog Leopolds von Oestreich und seine Kriegsgefährten. Leipzig: Weygand, 1794.

_____. Werner, Graf von Bernburg. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Weygand, 1790.

Nicolai, Karl. Die Banditenhöhle von Carastro. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1818.

_____. Das Grab am Vesuv. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1818.

- Nicolai, Karl. Die Riesensteinburg oder Deutsche Frauenwürde.
Ein historisch-romantisches Gemälde der Vorzeit.
2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1816.
- _____. Schaudergeschichten. 2 Bände. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1818.
- Obyrn, Amalie von. Theodosia, die Jungfrau und das goldene Kreuz. Rittergeschichte. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1832.
- Oefele, Freiherr von. Hermenegild und Ingunde oder die Arianer. Eine gothisch-spanische Legende. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1830.
- _____. Die letzten Johanniter auf Rhodus oder die Belagerung dieser Ordensinsel durch die Türken im Jahre 1522.
2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1829.
- _____. Olga. Ein Roman aus der altrussischen und byzantinischen Vorzeit. Seitenstück zu Walter Scotts Romanen.
3 Teile. Leipzig: Hartmann, 1828.
- Pierre, Jean (Wolfg. Andr. Schöpfung). Die Geburtsstunden der Hölle. Erfurt und Gotha: Hennings, 1802.
- _____. Die Mitternachtsglocke oder Walther von Windheim.
Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1820.
- Pitt, Friedrich. Der falsche Waldemar oder die Markgrafensteine bei Fürstenwalde. Eine historische Erzählung. Berlin: Oehmig, 1830.
- Potook, J. G. von. Abenteuer in der Sierra Morena. Leipzig: Rein, 1810.
- Prozeltner, C. Z. Der Schutzheilige. 2 Bände. Magdeburg: Creutz, 1826.
- Rauschenbusch, Ernst. Idaline oder das Fest der Einkleidung in der Abtey zu Heiligenstadt. Elberfeld: Büschler, 1818.
- Reinhardt, K. Heinrich. Die Circe von Glas-Ilyn. Ein Roman nach Walter Scott. 4 Bände. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1822.
- Roos, Richard (Karl Aug. Engelhardt). Dietrich von Harras oder der Rittersprung. Dresden: Arnold, 1822.
- Schilling, Friedrich Gustav. Drako, Dämon der Hölle. Dresden: Arnold, 1811.
- _____. Guido von Sohnsdom. 4 Teile. Freyberg: Croz, 1795.
- _____. Julius. Seitenstück zu Guido von Sohnsdom. 2 Teile.
Freyberg: Croz, 1798.
- Schlenkert, Friedrich. Altdeutsche Geschichten romantischen Inhalts. 3 Bände. Zürich: Ziegler und Söhne, 1791.

Schlenkert, Friedrich. Bernhard, Herzog zu Sachsen-Weimar.
8 Bände. Leipzig: Sommer, 1818.

_____. Friedrich mit der gebissenen Wange. 4 Bände.
Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1785-88.

_____. Kaiser Heinrich der Vierte. 5 Teile. Dresden und
Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1789-95.

_____. Lombardische Gemählde, historisch-romantisch bear-
beitet. Leipzig: Höfer, 1796.

_____. Moritz, Kurfürst von Sachsen. 4 Bände. Zürich und
Leipzig: Ziegler und Söhne, 1798.

_____. Rudolf von Habsburg. 4 Teile. Leipzig: Voss und
Leo, 1792-94.

Schöpfer, Karl (Bertrant, G. und Fröhlich, F.). Der Admiral Don
Velasco da Gaston oder kühne Thaten eines Seeräubers des
Mittelmeeres. 4 Teile. 2te Auflage. Helmstädt:
Fleckeisen, 1819.

_____. Der Alte vom Berge oder Thaten und Schicksale des
tapfern Templers Hugo von Maltiz und seiner geliebten
Mirza. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1828.

_____. Bellarosa, das schöne Mädchen aus der Strasse von
Toledo. Eine Räubergeschichte aus der neueren Zeit.
2 Teile. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1830. [The author's name
on the title-page appears as L. Delarosa.]

_____. Das böhmische Blutgericht oder die Strafe der Untreue.
Nordhausen: Landgraf, 1826.

_____. Brunhilde von Felsenburg und Adalbert von Alpenhorst
oder die siegenden Tugendritter. 2 Bände. Nordhausen:
Fürst, 1832.

_____. Diavoleto, der Schwarze von La Baggaria. Räuber-
gemälde al Fresco aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert.
2 Teile. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1837.

_____. Eduardo da Rosto, der kühne Seeräuber-Admiral oder
Thaten und Abenteuer desselben in Afrika und der europäi-
schen Türkei. Eine Geschichte aus Spaniens furchtbaren
Inquisitionsgerichten. 2 Bände. Sondershausen: Voigt,
1822.

_____. Graf Günther von der Halle. Geschichte aus den Ritter-
zeiten. Nordhausen: Happach, 1818.

_____. Lomellina, die schöne Guitarrenspielerin auf Malta.
Nordhausen: Fürst, 1829.

_____. Die Johanniter-Ritter oder die Eroberung der Insel
Rhodus durch die Türken im Jahre 1522 und Sittah, eine
Erzählung aus den letzten Jahren des elften Jahrhunderts.
Rathenow: Flick, 1826.

Schöpfer, Karl (Bertrant, G. und Fröhlich, F.). Konrad von Bärenburg und Adelgunde von Liebenstein oder die heilige Vehme in den Ruinen der Todtenburg. Rittergeschichte. Nordhausen: Landgraf, 1827.

_____. Der mordlustige Glacco und der edle Räuberhauptmann Ruperto. Eine Räubergeschichte aus den Gebirgen Spaniens. 2 Teile. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1829.

_____. Rosaline oder das Geheimnis. 2 Bände. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1822.

_____. Die Ruinen von Moncaldo oder Ferragand und seine Genossen. 2 Bände. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1826.

_____. Seltsame Abentheuer des Chevallier Marbon. Eine Räubergeschichte aus der neuesten Zeit. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1829.

_____. Die Stimme des Unsichtbaren oder Geschichte Franziscos, Enkel des unglücklichen Don Sebastian, Königs von Portugal. 3 Bände. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1822.

_____. Der Thurm von Ruthyna im Lande Wallis. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1824.

_____. Das wandernde Gerippe. 2 Teile. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1821.

Seidel, Karl August. Goldchen oder das Zigeunermädchen. 2 Bände. Köthen: Aue, 1800-02.

_____. Andreas Patasch, Zigeuner Hauptmann. 2 Bände. Köthen: Aue, 1801.

Seute, Dr. Aswin der Kühne oder treue Liebe siegt. Leipzig: Glück, 1830.

Sieboth, C. Auruna die Berg-Fee oder das Kreuz über dem Walde. Eine Geistererzählung mit Volkssagen durchwebt. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1838.

_____. Die Siegwarts-Kapelle oder wer verzweifelt an seinem Glücke?! Nordhausen: Fürst, 1838.

_____. Das Waldhuhn oder das Orakel in den Ardennen. 2 Teile. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1837.

_____. Das wilde Ross oder des zürnenden Geschickes Sühne. Eine Rittergeschichte. 2 Bände. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1842.

Sievers, Georg Ludwig. Der Sarg oder die Zwillingschwwestern. 4 Teile. Hamburg und Mainz: Vollmer, 1805.

Spiess, Chr. Hein. Der Alte Ueberall und Nirgends. Eine Geistergeschichte. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kleefeld, 1803. 3te und 4te Teile von K. C. Herschel, Leipzig, 1797.

_____. Die Berggeister, eine wahre Geschichte. Prag: Barth, 1797.

- Spiess, Chr. Hein. Die Geheimnisse der alten Egipzier. Eine wahre Zauber- und Geistergeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. 3 Bände. Leipzig: Leo, 1798-99.
- _____. Die Löwenritter, eine Geschichte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. 4 Teile. Leipzig: Leo, 1794-96.
- _____. Der Mäusefallen und Hechelkrämer, eine Geschichte sehr wunderbar und doch ganz natürlich. 3te Auflage. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1793.
- _____. Das Petermännchen. Geistergeschichte aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert. 2 Teile. 2te Auflage. Prag und Leipzig: Albrecht und Kompagnie, 1793. 3ter Teil: Mathilde oder der gelöste Zauber von E. Heller, 1801.
- _____. Die Reisen und Abentheuer des Ritters Benno von Elsenburg im Jahre 1225. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Voss und Comp, 1795-96.
- _____. Die Ritter mit dem güldnen Horn. 2 Teile. Berlin: Lange, 1803.
- _____. Die zwölf schlafenden Jungfrauen. Eine Geistergeschichte. 4 Bändchen. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1840.
- Spindler, C. Der Vampyr und seine Braut. Nachtstück aus der neuesten Zeit. 2te Auflage. Hanau: Edler, 1832.
- Spindler, H. Der Geheimnisvolle oder die beiden Verbrechen. Leipzig: Glück, 1830.
- Sporn, C. Die Herberge zur wilden Bache oder des Meisters Fehlschuss. Eine Räuber- und Wildschützenerzahlung. 2 Bände. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1842.
- Stettner, Joh. Fr. (Ciryllus, Burkhard und Siegmar, Rud.). Albrecht Achilles, Markgraf zu Brandenburg oder Achte Liebe scheut kein Opfer. Nürnberg: Zeh, 1826.
- _____. Graf Albrecht von Hohenstein oder der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer. Nürnberg: Zeh, 1827.
- _____. Graf Meinolf von Wildenforst oder das wunderbare Wirken des grauen Mannes auf den Burgen seiner Freunde. 3 Teile. Nürnberg und Leipzig: Zeh, 1824.
- _____. Moranzo, furchtbares Oberhaupt kühner spanischer Räuber auf dem Lande und zur See. 2 Teile. Nürnberg und Leipzig: Zeh, 1825.
- Tarnow, Fanny. Heinrich von England und seine Söhne. Eine alte Sage. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1842.
- Teubner, G. Adolph und Minoa oder die Wallfahrt. Eine Urkunde aus dem geretteten Archive einer fürstlichen Familie. Erfurt: Müller, 1810.

- Teutobald (Fr. Aug. Schulze). Die stille Jungfrau. Eine wunder- und geheimnisvolle Geschichte. 2 Teile. Dresden: Arnold, 1804.
- Textor, A. Hermann von der Ettersburg. Eine Rittergeschichte aus dem dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhundert. 3 Bände. Chemnitz: Starke, 1826.
- Thal, K. von. Gotsche und der Greis des Riesengebirges oder der Kampf um die Herzogtochter. Romantische Geschichte der Vorzeit. Nordhausen: Fürst, 1839.
- van der Velde, C. F. Guido. Dresden: Arnold, 1825.
- _____. Die Lichtensteiner. 3te Auflage. Dresden: Arnold, 1825.
- _____. Der Maltheser. 3te Auflage. Dresden: Arnold, 1825.
- _____. Die Patrizier. Dresden: Arnold, 1825.
- _____. Die Wiedertäufer. Dresden: Arnold, 1825.
- Venturini, Karl. Hermann der Sassen Herzog, Deutschlands Rächer und Befreyer. Ein romantisches Bild altdeutscher Freyheit und National-Grösse. 2 Teile. Kopenhagen und Leipzig: Schuboth, 1804.
- Voss, Julius von. Das Geschworenengericht. Berlin: Schüppel, 1828.
- _____. Das Grab der Mutter in Palermo. Berlin: Schmidts Witwe, 1818.
- _____. Der Nonnenräuber oder die Abtei St. Glasii in Natolien. 2 Teile. Berlin: Schmidts Witwe, 1818.
- _____. Das schöne Gespenst in fünfzigjährigen Wirkungen. 2 Bände. Berlin: Schüppel, 1820.
- _____. Der Schutzgeist. Berlin: Schüppel, 1822.
- Vulpus, Christian Aug. Der Maltheser. Leipzig: Gräff, 1804.
- _____. *Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann, eine romantische Geschichte unseres Jahrhunderts. 3 Teile. Leipzig, 1798.
- _____. Thermitonia, das Buch der Geistereien. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1825.
- Wallenrodt, Isabelle von. Emma von Ruppın, eine Geschichte voll Leiden, Freuden und Wunder aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Jacobäer, 1794.
- _____. Das Mädchen Wunderhold. Berlin: Brauner, 1810.
- _____. Prinz Hassan, der Hochherzige bestraft durch Rache und glücklich durch Liebe. Eine morgenländische Urkunde. Leipzig: Kleefeld, 1796.

Wangenheim, F. Th. Ritter Homburg von Hils oder Rache und Vergeltung. Historisch-romantisches Gemälde aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge. Braunschweig: Meyer, 1833.

Weber, Veit (Georg Phil. L. L. Wächter). *Sagen der Vorzeit. 5 Bände. 2te Auflage. Berlin: Maurer, 1788-95.
I. Männerschwur und Weibertreue. - Der Harfner. - Das Ritterwort. 1790. II. Wolf. - Das heilige Kleeblatt. - Der Müller des Schwarzthals. - Der graue Brüder. 1788. III. Tugendspiegel. 1790. IV. Die Teufelsbeschwörung. - Die Brüder des Bundes für Freyheit und Recht. 1790. V. Die Brüder des Bundes für Freyheit und Recht. 1795.

Werg, August. Gundeburga, Königin der Longobarden oder der Gottesgerichtskampf in Pavja. Eine Erzählung aus dem ersten Drittel des siebenten Jahrhunderts. Berlin: Schmidt, 1827.

_____. Die Schwüre oder Ritter Fürst von Hartenstein. Eine Geschichte aus den Zeiten des Faustrechts. Berlin: Schmidt, 1827.

Willmar, Wilhelmine. Viole oder das Todtengewölbe. Kiel: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1812.

Woltmann, Karoline von. Die weissen Hüthe. Eine historische Darstellung aus dem Mittelalter. Halberstadt: Vogler, 1822.

Zschokke, Heinrich. *Abällino, der grosse Bandit. Frankfurt, 1793.

_____. Die schwarzen Brüder. Eine abentheuerliche Geschichte. 3 Bände. Leipzig und Frankfurt an der Oder: Apitz, 1791-1793.

_____. Die Männer der Finsterniss. Leipzig und Frankfurt an der Oder: Apitz, 1795.

Anon. Almarich, Herzog von Siebenbürgen oder der Wald bey Hermannstadt. Pest: Hartleben, 1808.

_____. Bertram und Idda oder Rittersinn und Liebe. Magdeburg: Schütz, 1816.

_____. Brunno von Löveneck und Clara von Hundsrück. Eine Rittergeschichte aus den Zeiten der Kreuzzüge. Nordhausen: Landgraf, 1825.

_____. Carlo Cellini oder die Männer der Nacht. Seitenstück zu Rinaldo Rinaldini. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.

_____. Don Sancho der Lichtscheue oder der furchtbare nächtliche Abentheurer. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1828.

_____. Drahomira mit dem Schlangenringe oder die nächtlichen Wanderer in den Schreckensgefängnissen von Karlstein bei Prag. Eine Schauergeschichte aus Böhmens grauer

Vorzeit. Wien: Bauer und Dirnböck; Prag: Dirnböck, 1842.
[Attributed to Dellarosa.]

- Anon. Elwina und Edmund oder Ritter Horst der Vaternörder.
Erzählung aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert. Berlin: Schmidt,
1826.
- _____. Emmerich, Graf von Tökel. Leipzig: Cnobloch, 1821.
- _____. Die Geister auf Felsthal oder der Knappe Kuno.
Geistergeschichte des elften Jahrhunderts. 2 Teile.
Leipzig: Rein, 1830.
- _____. Die grausigen Schrecknisse der Schlangenburg oder
Otelie, die schöne Büssende in dem unterirdischen Kerker
des Jesuiter-Klosters. Vom Verfasser des Arvonasack.
Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827.
- _____. Gustav von Bardenstein oder Abenteuer der Liebe.
Cassel: Griesbach, 1804.
- _____. Helene oder die wunderbare Erscheinung im Münster zu
Strassburg. Ein Roman aus der Vorzeit. 2 Teile. Qued-
linburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1824.
- _____. Hermann von Auerberg und sein Schutzgeist. Eine
Wundergeschichte aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert. Nord-
hausen: Fürst, 1839.
- _____. Ida die Fürstenbraut oder die Schauerburg im Banditen-
thale. Ein Gemälde der Vorzeit. Leipzig: Central-Comp-
toir, 1818.
- _____. Josephine die Banditenbraut im Nonnenkloster. Leipzig:
Tauchnitz, 1804.
- _____. Junker Peter von Quakenbach. Eine Klostergeschichte.
Leipzig: Taubert, 1816.
- _____. Kampf und Minne oder romantische Abenteuer aus den
Ritterzeiten. 2 Teile. Düsseldorf: Grossherzogliche
Hofbuchhandlung.
- _____. Kuno von Hartenburg und Adelaide von Staufeneck. Ein
Schauergemälde aus der Ritterzeit. Quedlinburg und Leip-
zig: Basse, 1826.
- _____. Die Larvenritter, nach einer Sage aus den Zeiten des
Hussitenkriegs. Prag: Widtmann, 1799.
- _____. Lauretta oder die Zauberin aus Cypern. Wien: Pichler,
1814.
- _____. Leben der Gräfin Valeria von ***. Eine merkwürdige
Abenturiere aus Ungarn. Aus ihrem Nachlasse bei ihrer
Entweichung aus dem Ursuliner-Kloster zu E--t. Erfurt:
Henning, 1806.

Anon. Leben und Schicksale des jungen Grafen Heinrich von Eichenfels. Leipzig und Regensburg: Hartmann und Doisersberger, 1820.

_____. Die Männer der Nacht oder wundervolle Abenteuer eines Offiziers während seiner Feldzüge in Spanien. Erfurt: Müller.

_____. Markulf der Schauermann oder die Bluthochzeit der schwarzen Brüder. Leipzig: Rein, 1821.

_____. Mathilde von Rapperschwyl oder das Rachegespenst. Eine Geistergeschichte aus den Zeiten Kaisers Otto des Grossen. Wien: Dirnböck, 1843.

_____. Michael der Klosterbruder oder die Wege des Schicksals. Quedlinburg: Basse, 1812.

_____. Der Mönch oder die siegende Tugend. Magdeburg: Hessenland und Comp, 1806.

_____. Phankmar von Mordenstein oder Abenteuer einer Nacht unter Ruinen. Hohenzollern: Wallishauser, 1805.

_____. Radomar der Drachenkopf oder die deutschen Ordensritter in Preussen. Historisches Gemälde aus der Vorzeit. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Rein, 1830.

_____. Ritter Busso von Falkenstein oder die Geheimnisse der Todtengruft. Ein schauerhaftes Gemälde aus den Ritterzeiten. Quedlinburg: Basse, 1813.

_____. Des Ritters Hugo von Schauerthal verhängnisvolle Wanderungen. Ritter- und Geistergeschichte des elften Jahrhunderts. Nürnberg: Zeh.

_____. Ritter Kunz von Lobdaburg. Eine Ritter- und Geistergeschichte. Eisenach: Baerecke, 1821.

_____. Die in Ruinen Verborgenen oder das Thal der Stummen. Eine Geschichte aus nicht längst verflossenen Zeiten. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1802.

_____. Die Ruinen der Gleissburg oder die Helden aus Thüringen. Ein historisches Gemälde des elften Jahrhunderts. Eisenberg: Schön, 1812.

_____. Ruprecht und Rudolf, die edlen Räuber. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Fleischer, 1807.

_____. Der Sarg oder die Ungeweihten im Kreuzkloster zu St. Esquidola. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1823.

_____. Schaudervolle Abenteuer im Todtengewölbe zu Bentheim. 2 Teile. Nordhausen: Happach, 1819.

_____. Die schauerlichen Höhlen. Eine Sammlung höchst interessanter abenteuerlicher Geschichten der Räuber-

banden in Deutschland, Frankreich, Italien und Spanien.
Cassel: Luckhardt, 1826.

Anon. Die tapferen Maltheseritter oder die Bestürmung Malthas
durch die Türken. Ein historisch-romantisches Gemälde
aus dem sechszehnten Jahrhundert. Quedlinburg und
Leipzig: Basse, 1826.

_____. Der Tempelritter. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Hartmann, 1833.

_____. Die Verbündeten von Sankt Martin. Aus Diegos Papieren.
Merseburg: Römer, 1829.

_____. Die Verschwornen oder die Ruinen der Rothenburg.
Ritter- und Räubergeschichte aus der Vorzeit. 3 Teile.
Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.

_____. Die Waffenbrüder oder Freundschaft bis jenseits des
Grabes. Höchst abentheuerliche und doch wahre Geschichte.
Leipzig: Rein, 1818.

_____. Der Waldmann. Ein abentheuerlicher Roman. 2 Teile.
Leipzig: Weygand, 1817.

_____. Wanda oder das geheimnisvolle Schloss. Quedlinburg
und Leipzig: Basse, 1825.

_____. Wanderungen nach dem Schlosse des Schreckens oder die
unruhigen Nächte. Wien: Rehms sel. Wittwe, 1803.

_____. Das Weib vom Berge oder die Felsenmutter in der Pabd
Baba bey Prag. Eine Geistergeschichte. Wien und Prag:
Haas.

Translations of Foreign Novels

Brown, Chas. Brockton. Ormond oder der geheime Zeuge. A. d. E.
des Godwin frei übers. von Fr. von Oertel. Leipzig:
Beygang, 1802.

Chaussier und Bizet. Das Grab. Ein der Miss Anna Radcliffe
zugeschriebener Roman, n. d. Frz. von Friedrich Oertel.
Leipzig: Beygang, 1800.

Cosio, Don Telesforo de Trueba y. Gomez Arias oder die Mauren
der Alpujarren. Ein historischer Roman a. d. E. frey
übers. von Gustav Sellen. 3 Bände. Leipzig: Taubert,
1829.

Cottin, Madame. Mathilde, Geschichte aus den Zeiten der Kreuz-
züge, frei für Deutsche bearbeitet von N. P. Stampiel.
4 Bände. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1806.

Curties, T. J. Horsley. Ethelwine, das Fräulein aus Westmoreland.
Eine altbrittische Geschichte a. d. E. übers. von Oertel.
Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1803.

- Ducray-Duminil. Cölinä oder das Kind des Geheimnisses. Ein Seitenstück zu Victor, n. d. Frz. des D. -D. 3 Teile. Leipzig und Sorau: Beygang und Ackermann, 1800.
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- . Elmonde oder das Kind des Geheimnisses, n. d. Frz. des D. -D. bearbeitet von K. L. M. Müller. 4 Bände. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1805.
-
- . Der kleine Glockenspieler. Nach D. -D. bearbeitet von Lindau. 3 Bände. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1810.
-
- . Victor oder der Sohn des Waldes, n. d. Frz. des Herrn D. -D. von Fr. von Oertel. Leipzig: Beygang, 1798.
- Genlis, Gräfin von. Alphonsine oder der Zögling unterirdischer Liebe, für Deutsche bearbeitet von K. L. M. Müller. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1806.
-
- . Die Battuecas oder das stille Thal in Spanien, n. d. Frz. der Gr. von Genlis von Theodor Hell. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1817.
-
- . Die Schwanenritter, eine Kunde der Vorwelt. 4 Teile. Hamburg: Fauche, 1796.
- Godwin, William. Gemählde nach dem Leben, oder Begebenheiten Caleb Williams von Wm. Godwin. Nach der zweiten, verbesserten Ausgabe a. d. E. übers. von Aug. Wilhelm. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Sommer, 1797-98.
- Helme, Elisabeth. St. Clair, der Eiländer oder die Geächteten von Barra. Eine schottische Sage a. d. E. der E. H. 2 Teile. Magdeburg: Heinrichshafen, 1811.
- Hervey, Elizabeth. Die heilige Sanct-Siegfriedskirche, nach der 12ten Ausgabe a. d. E. übers. von Kleffel. 5 Bände. Leipzig: Rein, 1801-02.
- Houghton, Miss. Die feindlichen Stammhäupter oder Liebe und Ritterthum, n. d. E. der Miss Houghton. 2 Teile. Jena: Schmid und Comp, 1817.
- Lathom, Francis. Die Mitternachtsglocke. Eine romantische Geschichte vom Verfasser des Mönchs, a. d. E. 2 Bände. Erfurt: Beyer und Maring, 1800.
- Lewis, Matthew Gregory. Der Mönch, a. d. E. übers. von F. von Oertel. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Beygang, 1797.
- Manzoni, Alessandro. Giovanni Rosinis Nonne von Manzoni. Fortsetzung der Verlobten von A. Manzoni, übers. von D. Lessmann. 2 Teile. Berlin: 1830.
- Morani, Giovanni. Thanatos und Valdea oder Zaubermacht und Liebe. Romantische Räubergeschichte. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1828.
- Morgan, Lady. Die Prinzessin oder die Beguine. Roman von L. Morgan, a. d. E. von Dr. P. Helling. 2 Bände. Aachen und Leipzig: Meyer, 1835.

- Morgan, Lady. Die Prophetin von Caschimit oder Glaubenskraft und Liebesglut nach Lady Morgan von Fanny Tarnow. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Rein, 1826.
- Mortonval. Der Mönch und die Dame. Nach Mortonval: Le Capucin du Marais von L. Kruse. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1834.
- _____. Don Pedros Rache. Eine Geschichte aus den Zeiten Pedros des Grausamen. Nach Mortonvals Martin Gil, a. d. Frz. übers. von L. Kruse. 4 Teile. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1833.
- Nodier, Charles. Adele oder das grausame Verhängnis. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1823.
- _____. Die Blutsauger. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1821.
- _____. Lothario oder die Brüder des Bundes zum Gemeinwohl. Räubergeschichte, nach der zweiten verbesserten Ausgabe des franz. Originals bearbeitet von Gustav Jördens. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1823.
- Porter, Anna Maria. Der Kreuzesritter oder Don Sebastian, König von Portugal. Ein historischer Ritterroman, hrag. von Wilhelmine v. Gersdorf. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1822.
- _____. Ritter Ademar von Bourbon oder die Bewohner des weissen Felsen. Nach Anna Porter frei bearbeitet von Wilhelmine v. Gersdorf. Ein Seitenstück zu dem Ritter der rothen Rose. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1823.
- Radcliffe, Anne. Die nächtliche Erscheinung im Schlosse Mazzini, a. d. E. von Liebeskind. 2te Auflage. Hannover: Ritscher, 1798.
- Roche, Regina Maria. Die Erben, n. d. E. frey bearbeitet von L. Huber. 2 Teile. Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1803.
- _____. Die Kapelle des alten Schlosses von Saint-Doulagh oder die Banditen von Newgate, a. d. E. übers. von Heinrich Müller. 4 Bände. Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1827.
- _____. Der Nachtbesuch, n. d. E. von Fr. v. Oertel. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1802.
- Regnault-Warin. Spinalba oder Offenbarungen aus dem Rosenkreuzerorden, a. d. Frz. bearbeitet und abgekürzt von Fr. v. Oertel. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Beygang, 1804.
- Scott, Walter. Der Abt. Ein romantisches Gemälde von W. S. übers. von W. A. Lindau. 3 Teile. Leipzig: Rein, 1821.
- _____. Allan Mac-Aulay, der Seher des Hochlandes. Eine Legende aus den Kriegen des Montrose, a. d. E. des W. S. übers. von Sophie May. 2 Teile. Berlin: Nauck, 1821.

- Scott, Walter. Die Braut. Ein romantisches Gemälde übers.
von W. A. Lindau. 2 Teile. 2te verb. Auflage. Dresden:
Arnold, 1822.
- _____. Die Chronik von Canongate. A. d. E. 3 Teile.
Stuttgart: Franck, 1828.
- _____. Eduard. Ein romantisches Gemälde nach W. Scotts
Waverley bearbeitet von W. A. Lindau. 2 Teile. Dresden:
Arnold, 1821.
- _____. Das Herz von Mid-Lothian. Ein romantisches Gemälde
übers. von W. A. Lindau. 6 Teile. Dresden: Arnold, 1822.
- _____. Kenilworth. 2 Bände. 2te verb. Auflage. Hannover:
Hahn, 1823.
- _____. Der Kerker von Edinburgh. Ein Roman nach W. S. bear-
beitet von der Verfasserin der Rolands Abentheuer, hrsg.
von Fr. W. v. Schmidt. 3 Bände. Berlin: Dümmler, 1822.
- _____. Der Kreuzfahrer. 3 Bände. Quedlinburg und Leipzig:
Basse, 1825.
- _____. Marmion oder die Schlacht von Flooden-Field. Eine
Rittergeschichte von W. S. nach der 9ten Ausgabe frey
bearbeitet von J. P. Richter. 2 Bände. Leipzig:
Lauffer, 1822.
- _____. Mathilde von Rokeby. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Lauffer, 1822.
- _____. Montrose, ein romantisches Gemälde übers. von
W. A. Lindau. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Rein, 1824.
- _____. Der Pirat. A. d. E. des W. S. übers. von S. H. Spiker.
3 Teile. Berlin: Duncker und Humblock, 1822.
- _____. Quentin Durward, a. d. E. von K. L. M. Müller.
Leipzig: Herbig, 1823.
- _____. Redgauntlet, a. d. E. übers. von Sophie May. 3 Teile.
Leipzig: Herbig, 1824.
- _____. Ritter Angus, eine caledonische Geschichte nach W. S.
bearbeitet von Heinrich Müller. 2 Teile. Quedlinburg
und Leipzig, 1824.
- _____. Der St.-Ronans-Brunnen, a. d. E. des W. S. 3 Teile.
Leipzig: Herbig, 1824.
- _____. Der schwarze Zwerg. Ein romantisches Gemälde übers.
von Lindau. 2te Auflage. Leipzig: Kollmann, 1823.
- _____. Das Schloss von Pontefract. Ein historischer Roman
von W. S. bearbeitet von Heinrich Döring. 3 Bände.
Leipzig: Lauffer, 1824.
- Smith, Charlotte. Das alte Schloss, a. d. E. von R. G. Löbel.
3 Teile. Leipzig: Schwickert, 1795.

Smith, Charlotte. Celestine, a. d. E. übers. von M. Forkel.
4 Bände. Leipzig: Weidmann, 1792.

_____. Ethelinde oder die Einsiedlerin am See, a. d. E. von
B. Rolli. (C. A. Fischer) 5 Bände. Leipzig: Weidmann,
1792.

_____. Papiere eines einsamen Wanderers oder Erzählungen
mannichfachen Inhalts, a. d. E. frey übers. von Fr. V.
Oertel. 3 Bände. Leipzig und Sorau: Beygang und Acker-
mann, 1802.

Walpole, Horace. Die Burg von Otranto, eine gothische Geschichte,
von F. L. W. Meyer. Berlin: Himburg, 1794.

Anon. Ariel oder der unsichtbare Erinnerer, n. d. E. frey bear-
beitet von Fr. von Oertel. 4 Teile. Leipzig und Sorau:
Beygang und Ackermann, 1805.

_____. Corelia oder die Geheimnisse des Grabes, n. d. E. frey
bearbeitet von B. Naubert. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Beygang,
1802.

_____. Don Esteban oder Memoiren eines Spaniers, a. d. E.
frey übers. von Gustav Sellen. 2 Teile. Leipzig: Focke,
1827.

_____. Erwina, oder Zauber, Minne und Mutterliebe. Ein Rit-
terroman n. d. Frz. der Contes gothiques übers. von
Josephine Gradenstein. Wien: Haas, 1819.

_____. Franz Bauden, Räuber und Giftmischer oder die Rache
folgt dem Verbrechen, a. d. E. Erfurt: Beyer. Before
1810.

_____. Die Geheimnisse der Abtey von Santa Columba oder der
Ritter mit den roten Waffen. A. d. E. übers. von
G. Bertrant. 2 Bände. Braunschweig, 1816. Also trans-
lated by Brancaglio. 1819.

_____. Die Burg Helvin oder die letzten Zweige des Hauses
Beaumanoir von Keratry. Ein historisch-romantischer
Roman a. d. Frz. frey übers. von C. G. Henning.
4 Teile. 2te Aufl. Ronneburg: Weber, 1830.

_____. Der Irländische Schwarzkünstler und die Giftmischerin,
a. d. E. 2 Teile. Mannheim: Loeffler, 1829.

_____. Maria von Falkenberg oder die Pilger im heiligen
Lande. Eine romantische Geschichte n. d. E. 2 Teile.
1810.

_____. Der Thurm zu Rauscheneck oder der Talisman. Frey n. d.
Frz. von E. Marsch. Wien und Prag: Haas, 1819.

_____. Die Wundersage von Alroy. Vom Verfasser des Vivian
Gray. Ins Deutsche übers. von Th. Hell. 2 Bände.
Berlin: Duncker und Humblock, 1833.

